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HISTORY

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

POCUMTUCK VALLEY

MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

V.7
1921-29
Pt. 2

1921–1929



VOL. VII.

DEERFIELD, MASS., U. S. A.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION.

1929.

480

the night nothing disturbed us but the scraming of the Loons in the river.

23^{d} very rainy day

24 marched to Point Clair being six miles

25th detained by rain in the fore part of the day. in the after noon marched to St Ann, nine miles from point Clare

1781005

ANNUAL MEETING—1926.

REPORT.

Another meeting of the widely famed Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association has passed and much more valuable historical matter has been gathered together and becomes available for preservation to future generations through the printed reports and *Proceedings* of the Association. Not the least worthy of preservation are the memorial tributes, presented each year as members of the Association pass to the "Great Beyond." These with the more extended historical papers, much of the matter presented being made available only through careful and long-continued research work, make a library the value of which cannot be estimated, and to which each year adds much of interest and worth. Memorial Hall, with its wonderful and priceless collection of relics, manuscripts, Indian utensils, etc., is year by year becoming more and more a Mecca for persons from all over the world. At the afternoon session President John Sheldon presided. The report of the secretary, W. L. Harris, was given by Miss Mellen, and the treasurer's report by Mr. Sheldon. The report of the Sheldon Publishing Fund was given by Judge Francis N. Thompson. The Indian House Homestead Fund by George A. Sheldon and the Permanent Fund by Principal F. L. Boyden.

Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon was re-elected trustee of the Homestead Fund, John Sheldon trustee of the Sheldon Publishing Fund, F. L. Boyden trustee of the Permanent Fund and George A. Sheldon was elected trustee of the Permanent Fund to succeed E. A. Newcomb, deceased.

Officers were elected as follows:

President, John Sheldon; vice-presidents, Francis N. Thompson, Franklin G. Fessenden; recording secretary, William L. Harris; corresponding secretary, N. Theresa Mellen; treasurer, George A. Sheldon; Councillors, John A. Aiken,

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Helen C. Boyden, William B. Browne, Mary W. Fuller, E. Minnie Hawks, Charles W. Hazelton, Lucy E. Henry, James K. Hosmer, Margaret Miller, W. Herbert Nichols, S. Willard Saxton, Mary P. Wells Smith, Arthur H. Tucker, Margaret C. Whiting, Albert L. Wing.

Memorial tributes were read as follows: To Asahel W. Root by Wright Root of Easthampton; to Eugene A. Newcomb by William J. Newcomb; to William O. Crosby by Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon; to Edward A. Hawks by Rev. Charles P. Wellman, Mr. Wellman also read extracts from the unpublished diary of the late Miss Mary Willard, which was finished in her 82d year. These reminiscences of Old Deerfield, its "Street," houses, churches, schools, village "characters," and outstanding happenings of Miss Willard's youthful days were most piquant, interesting and amusing.

The report of the curator, Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon, showed that 1925 was a banner year in attendance, nearly 9000 persons from 42 States and most of the foreign countries having visited Memorial Hall. Many contributions of value were received. Some of the more interesting of these were exhibited. Charles W. Hazelton of Montague City presented to the Society two cannon balls dug up in Fort Hill, Boston.

By vote of the Association a committee will investigate regarding further safeguarding Memorial Hall from fire by the installation of metal window sashes and frames.

A meeting of the councillors followed the afternoon session. An excellent supper was served by the women of Deerfield, under direction of a committee headed by Mrs. Estella Lamb.

The evening meeting in the Town Hall was largely attended. A feature was the singing of "Home Again," "Shelburne," "Kidd's Lament," "Anthem for Easter," and "Auld Lang Syne," by a choir under the direction of Jonathan P. Ashley. Interesting papers were read by Charles W. Hazelton on "Early Days of Turners Falls," and by Arthur H. Tucker of Milton, on "Hope Atherton and His Time."

REPORT OF CURATOR.

The Library of Congress, under date of Aug. 25, 1923, asked our Association for a statement concerning the manuscripts in our Collection. The Library was about to publish a revision of the work entitled "Manuscripts in Public and Private Collections in the United States." A reply was sent to the effect that this Association had been devoting its energies to a card catalogue of its books and pamphlets, numbering nearly 20,000, and that no catalogue of its Colonial and Revolutionary manuscripts had been prepared.

The curator's time the past year has been devoted chiefly to the preparation of a written catalogue of these manuscripts. With the efficient aid of Miss Frances S. Drenning and Miss Mary E. Fellows, both of Greenfield, the work has been accomplished, and a typewritten copy of the catalogue has been forwarded to the Congressional Library.

One book of this written catalogue contains the colonial and provincial manuscripts covering the period from 1600 to 1769. Our oldest manuscript bears the date of 1663, but we have perennial hope that earlier manuscripts will be contributed.

The second book contains the Revolutionary manuscripts 1770–83, and the after—or past—Revolutionary manuscripts, 1784–99. A third small book records the manuscripts of 1800–99. As the object of this Association is, primarily, "the collecting and preserving such memorials . . . as may tend to illustrate and perpetuate the history of the early settlers of this region and of the race which vanished before them," we solicit, especially, manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries.

It is not expected that the Library of Congress will publish the typewritten copy in full, but it cannot fail to be helpful for reference. The Library gratefully acknowledged the contribution, and Mr. Charles Moore, Acting Chief, Division of Manuscripts, sent a letter of thanks in which he said, "In looking over the Catalogue I find many manuscripts of decided interest to historical scholars. We shall keep the Cata-

logue in connection with our list of Manuscripts in Public and Private Collections in the United States, and when a new edition is published, will make a new reference to your collection."

Independent of this catalogue we have had for many years boxes of manuscripts relating to Deerfield families, to Deerfield and several nearby towns. Each of these boxes has contained a general catalogue of its contents to aid the seeker after historical or genealogical data.

It is with keen satisfaction that Miss Mellen and myself announce that there has been a larger number of visitors at Memorial Hall this year than ever before; the number reaching 8963, almost 9000. They have registered from 42 States and the following foreign countries: Scotland, Ireland, England, France, Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Lower Austria, Turkey, Czecho-Slovakia, Russia, India, China, Korea, Japan, Philippine Islands, Australia, Brazil, Peru, Cuba, Hawaiian Islands, Canal Zone, Honduras, Porto Rico, Bermuda, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. Among the distinguished visitors were Major-General J. A. LeJeune, Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt and her daughter, Mrs. Ethel Derby.

The following schools and colleges have been represented: Patten school, Shelburne; Buckland Center grammar; Anna Oakman school, Turners Falls; East Northfield grammar; Apple Valley and Wardville schools, Ashfield; West Leyden school; Northwest school, Westhampton; Sunderland grammar; Junior high, Pleasant Street and Abercrombie schools, Greenfield; Clark school, Northampton; The McDuffie school, Springfield; Wilbraham Academy; Northfield Seminary; Mt. Holyoke College; Smith College; Clarke University, Worcester; Amherst College; Columbia University, N. Y.; Amherst Summer school; and Deerfield Academy.

A number of organizations have enjoyed the collection. Northfield Conference; Sunday School, St. Joseph's Parish, Shelburne Falls; Champion Canning Club, Greenfield; Girls' Friendly Society, Canaan, Conn.; Methodist Mothers' Club, Shelburne Falls; Girl Scouts, Southampton; Anchor Club, Boston and vicinity; Fortnightly Club, Fitchburg.

We have received 119 contributions, consisting of 56 books and pamphlets, 22 manuscripts, and 41 miscellaneous articles. Among the most valuable gifts is the manuscript letter of Elisha Williams to his cousin, Stephen Williams, dated Hatfield, Aug. 4, 1707. This is the gift of Mrs. Mary W. Fuller. *The William Ward Genealogy* from the estate of Artemas Ward of N. Y., and the *Newton Genealogy* from Ermina N. and Bernard A. Leonard of De Pere, Wis. Three rare sermons bearing dates 1681, 1682 and 1683, given by Maj. S. Willard Saxton of Washington, D. C. Among the later contributions is a finely preserved melodeon made about 1840 by William I. Hawks and presented by C. W. Hawks of Shelburne Falls. A framed oil portrait of George DeWolf given by his nephew, Edwin Allis DeWolf, of St. Louis, Mo.

Another exhibition case, the gift of Miss Margaret Whiting and Miss Ellen Miller, has been added to the Room of Domestic Productions, and this case is devoted to bedspreads.

The assistant, Miss Mellen, has catalogued the annual addition of books and pamphlets, and the present excellent condition of the Hall is the result of her constant care.

Respectfully submitted,
J. M. Arms Sheldon.

Deerfield, Feb. 23, 1926.

NECROLOGY.

ASAHEL ROOT.

BY WRIGHT ROOT OF EASTHAMPTON.

Father used to say that a man doesn't have any brains until he is about seventy.

Sister Edith must have overlooked this parental information when she went to Washington and left me to make the exhibit and represent the family. But I do feel honored to come before the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association because father felt membership in it a very great honor.

Asahel Wright Root was born in Phelps, Ontario County,

New York, in a brick house within the village limits. In Phelps they draw a line around the center—not too far out—and assess a corporation tax within that circle, with which to build and maintain sidewalks, schools, etc., thus leaving the outlying farmers free from some of the urban burdens. Now picturing this triangle Deerfield, Conway and Phelps—we have Deerfield with the Civil War twenty years ahead, Conway having sent its sturdy men to the West and Phelps, not so far from Rochester, where fields were bigger and enterprises newer, great-grandfather Luther having built a tavern and left a comfortable property in Phelps it was but natural that grandfather Francis should come back down to Deerfield Academy for a finish upon his education—and soon after return to Phelps with a bride from Deerfield. He married her in our Wapping homestead, where many years afterwards our friend, Andrew Campbell, performed the same operation for me. Grandfather's bride was Charlotte Wright, his own cousin. Here again father, a son of this marriage, used to quote, with a twinkle in his eye—"And the children are all fools." Charlotte was an intimate school girl friend of Miss Judith Allen of the Caleb Allen family of our generation.

To Francis and Charlotte in their Phelps home was born the following family:

Edward Everett in 1835. He lived but a year.

Susan Lucretia in 1837—Married James Vincent and settled in Coldwater, Michigan. She had two children—Alice Vincent Amidon—and Frank. Alice left three children, who at her death were adopted by their grandmother.

Then came Augustus Francis, in 1840. He enlisted for service in the Civil War. He was taken sick in camp—and before grandfather could get him home he died in Baltimore. Lula, his sister, remembers that the first telegram she ever saw, brought the word from her father of the death of brother Gus—she was 14 years old at that time.

Next born was Walter Smead, in 1842. He spent a long and useful life in Phelps.

Then came father—Asahel Wright Root, the fifth child of the family, in 1845.

Next in order is Luthera Jane, intimately known as "Aunt Lue," who makes her home in both Easthampton and Deerfield.

The last to arrive was Arthur Edward in 1852. All through his early life he was an expert machinist in Canton, Ohio; now having moved to Pasadena, California, he is enjoying the roses of America and the young families of his two married daughters. His letters and those of sister Lula cross the continent weekly.

Father was eight years old. His uncle Asahel Wright, one of the four Wrights living in a row in Wapping, went to Phelps to visit. Uncle Asahel had no living children. His sister had six, so why shouldn't he borrow one? So father came down to Wapping with him. After two years, his mother and sister Lula came East to visit him. Thereafter, for many years, he visited Phelps once in every two years or thereabouts.

Father soon came to know Edward Hawks across the road, (his own age) and his younger and older brothers. Later he saw Charles Ashley grow up, and as in time he went in and out of school and church among you people he learned to know you and Greenfield and its people. Eugene Newcomb was his lifelong friend. A little about father's uncle Asahel Wright with whom he came to live—Aunt Lula remembers one trip from Wapping to Conway, when, besides the democrat wagon, the best family chaise was pressed into service carrying the guests—and she rode part of the way in it.

Uncle Asahel was handy with his hands as well as inventive with his mind. Judging from his animal operations in the neighborhood he was the veterinarian of the locality. We have the story passed down to us that in his raising of swine he had established a co-relation between the time for the growth of a fingernail from the quick up—and the period of pregnancy in his swine. As his hogs, of which he kept a goodly number, came to his attention for official recording he would pull out his pocket knife, scratch a mark on the quick of his thumbnail. A few days later the next hog might also be properly recorded. He then could go about his usual work knowing that in about 112 days those marks

would have grown out ready to wear off at the tip or be manicured away with his Saturday night's trim up. In any event he had only to glance at his thumbnail to be reminded that a litter of pigs was due down in the barn, and would arrive shortly.

As people are prone to habits so Uncle Asahel found pleasure in chewing tobacco. He was one of the three men who held the deed to the orthodox church—the property going to the surviving member—and then descending to the survivor's heirs. So father discovered a short while ago that he owned the white church—not so bad a piece of property:—He also discovered that he owned a half pew from the ground up in the Brick church. There is in the family possession today a deed bounded on all sides by pews and half pews, aisle, etc., just like a deed of Second Division or Bog Meadow, and going down to heirs and assigns, forever, etc.—the full right and title to the property. Our family has not yet found any papers by which we can lay claim to the fine new Town Hall of Deerfield, or even to the good old Memorial Building—but we are still looking.

The famous Deerfield cannon,—father showed us children the spot, a depression in the turf—was buried behind our barn at Wapping at one time. They had been overhauling the barn and were grading up around it. The cannon was dropped in and covered. The hired man, Dick Brady, just over from Ireland, plowed into it one day and spent the rest of the forenoon on his hands and knees trying to find out what the thing was.

Father went to Wisdom for his wife. He married Lynthea Elvira DeWolf. Father had grown up at the age when the big common pasture was being superseded by other methods of handling the meadows. He saw the last of the Valley stall-feeding of fattening cattle, and as he was coming into full manhood experienced the great depression of all business following the Civil War. Sledding was hard and he had us four—Edith, Wright, Luther and Ruth. He sold his last two crops of tobacco for right around three cents per pound all sorted and cased. This should be of consolation to our present Valley growers. Father never regained any interest

in tobacco culture, and had never acquired that old Indian habit of the friendly pipe.

Following that period of low farm values it was easy for him to hire out to Uncle Sam's job of distributing letters and mail-house packages about the town. For over 20 years he went each day over his route. His health, which had always been the best, stayed with him to the end.

Father's first year of Rural Mail Delivery commanded $150. It was taken on as an experiment by the government in connection with his milk route. Next year his pay was increased to $250 and the following year he gave up the milk, and until he was forced out by pension rules carried only mail. He took genuine pleasure in his work and his mind was never idle. About this time he made a jingle or two and he found his friends pleased with them; so he kind of got the habit and as he jogged along with his trusty steed he rhymed out many local hits of pleasantry. For some years he was annually invited as the "poet of Deerfield" to appear on the Commencement platform of the Dickinson High School. This was a great pleasure to him and the audience enjoyed it too. Meeting Mr. Warner of Sunderland, in Boston, a few days back, he fished into his little pocket notebook and taking from it the following clipping—remarked—"This reminds me of your father."

THE MAN BEHIND THE SMILE.

I don't know how he is on creeds,
  I never heard him say:
But he's got a smile that fits his face
  And he wears it every day.

If things go wrong he won't complain
  Just tries to see the joke;
He's always finding little ways
  Of helping other folk.

He sees the good in everyone,
  Their fault he never mentions,
He has a lot of confidence
  In people's good intentions.

You soon forget what ails you
When you happen 'round this man,
He can cure a case of hypo
Quicker than the doctor can.

No matter if the sky is gray,
You get his point of view;
And the clouds begin to scatter,
And the sun comes breaking through.

You'll know him if you meet him,
And you'll find it worth your while,
To cultivate the friendship of
The "Man Behind the Smile."

EDWARD ALLEN HAWKS.

BY CHARLES P. WELLMAN.

The subject of this memorial, Edward Allen Hawks, was of the seventh generation of the descendants of John Hawks of 1640. Eliezer Hawks, who purchased land of Samuel Allen in 1713, thus founding the Hawks homestead in Wapping, was Edward's great-great-grandfather. His father was Horatio Hawks, born 1819, and his mother was Mary Ann Allen, from whom he received his middle name. Born October 12,1845, he was second oldest of seven children, all sons, all of whom grew to maturity.

In August, 1917, there occurred at the old homestead a remarkable gathering. It was a renunion of these seven brothers, the youngest of whom had reached the age of 55, with their families, at the old home in Wapping. For this merriest of times Charles came on from California, Louis from Springfield, Theodore from Melrose, Clifford from Newton Center, Arthur from his home almost opposite the homestead and Edward from the north end of Deerfield Street—all joining with Dwight who had stayed at the natal place. What those days, blessed by perfect summer weather meant, only the participants can fully state. In a little reunion album, filled with pictures and bits of verse, opposite

a picture of the old house with the bend in the road and the great elms bending above, are written the lines:

> There stands an ancient farm house free from ornamental frills,
> With mountains for its background, in front the distant hills.
> The summer rains, the wintry blast it still holds up to scorn:
> We reverence that old place— 'twas there that we were born.

To the end, the memories of that reunion and the little booklet full of verse and scene, were treasured by Mr. Hawks.

On that home farm, Edward grew up, helping, as did his brothers, with the work, and for several winters attending the Deerfield Academy, which had been established in the time of his Grandfather Quartus! In 1865 the village was greatly shocked at the death of the father, lost with the steamer Melville that foundered at sea, for Horatio Hawks was active in town and church affairs. Theodore, the oldest boy, left home then or very soon after, so that upon Edward, next oldest, devolved the responsibility of being the man of the place and caring with his mother for the welfare of the home,—no mean task for a lad of nineteen.

Midway between his twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth birthdays, he married Susan Arabella, daughter of the Hon. George Sheldon, thereafter making his home on the Sheldon homestead. Thus it happened that Mr. Hawks began his life and lived his first twenty-five years on a homestead that was purchased in 1713 by descendants of its founder and has been held and lived upon continuously to this day. And he ended his life, after 55 years' residence thereon, on the Sheldon homestead, which, purchased in 1708, has been in possession of one family longer than any other in Franklin county.

There is also an interesting family tradition coming down from Horatio, who received it from his father Quartus and passed it on to his sons, about the house in which Edward was born; namely, that the back part of the present Hawks house contains the remnant of the original cabin to which Eliezer in 1714 brought his bride Abigail and her famous "Hadley chest." Quartus himself moved the house concerning which he had heard so much from his father, Paul, a quarter turn to the south, and then built on the present

main part facing west. But whether or not from the original house, Mr. Hawks certainly moved from the original homestead only to make a new home with his wife on a homestead still older than his own.

Of his marriage came two children: Edward Sheldon Hawks, Oct. 2, 1873, who now lives in Northfield, Vt., and Susan Belle Hawks, December 3, 1883, who still resides at her father's late home.

Mr. Hawks was actively interested in the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association long before he was elected a member, which was in 1900. He was made Councillor in 1901, which position he held to his death.

He was also a member of the old First Parish, and until recent years when infirmity came upon him, an attendant on its services and an active participant. Many times he has told the writer of this memorial of his memory of Dr. Samuel Willard, of the window which used to open directly back of the pulpit where the alcove now is, and of his father's superintendency of the Sunday school, which was very large in those days. For years, like his father, he was a valued member of the church choir.

Mr. Hawks all his life was a farmer; a quiet, home-loving man who was very fond of books and good reading. Seldom did he stray far from his native town. Once when a young man, before marriage, he journeyed to see Niagara Falls, and once again in 1918 he travelled to the Pacific coast, to see his brother Charles, who was living in California. Though at that time seventy-three years of age, he proved a good traveller and gained much benefit besides new interests.

About a year before his death physical infirmities began seriously to hamper his activities. These increased until Dec. 11, 1925, his spirit passed and "he was gathered unto his fathers." Being so well known and highly respected, a man of good countenance, good life, good friendships, he left behind a host of friends. His body rests at Laurel Hill.

"The memorial of virtue is immortal, for it is known with God and men. When it is present, men take example of it and when it is gone they earnestly desire it."

EUGENE A. NEWCOMB.

BY WILLIAM J. NEWCOMB.

On July 3, 1925, Eugene A. Newcomb, one who was always keenly alive to the welfare and interests of this organization, passed to the "Great Beyond."

He was a native of Leyden, Massachusetts, having been born there Nov. 17th, 1851, and spent his childhood on the Old Farm on East Hill, belonging for many years to his father, a lineal descendant of Hezekiah Newcomb and Jerusha Bradford, great-granddaughter of William Bradford, early governor of Massachusetts Colony, and a passenger on the Mayflower.

The founder of the Newcomb family in this country came from England and died in Boston in 1686.

From Leyden the family moved to Bernardston when Eugene was about ten years of age. He was one of the younger children of a family of twelve, and received his schooling after leaving the district school on East Hill, Leyden, at Powers Institute at Bernardston.

For several summers during these school years he worked out among the farmers of Bernardston, South and West Deerfield, living at one time in the family of Lucius Wise in West Deerfield, and at another in that of Hollis Graves on Sugar Loaf street, in South Deerfield.

In 1871 he was first employed in the hardware store of George A. Arms of Greenfield, and remained in this store at the same location until his death fifty-four years later. In 1880 he was made partner of Mr. John Sheldon in the firm of Sheldon and Newcomb, which took over the interests of George A. Arms, and later became the present firm of E. A. Newcomb and Son.

He is survived by his wife, who was formerly Hannah Thompson Deakin, a native of Sheffield, England, and four children, two sons and two daughters.

During his long residence in Greenfield he served early in the Volunteer Fire Department, became a member of the

Prudential Committee and one of the Board of Water Commissioners, and was Treasurer of Franklin county for thirty-four years, which office he held at the time of his death.

Mr. Newcomb became a member of this Society in 1893, and took great pleasure in its activities. He served on important committees many times, and was for years on the Board of Councillors.

These mid-winter meetings he always looked forward to with great anticipation, and no one could possibly have enjoyed them or the Field meetings in the summer more thoroughly.

He appreciated greatly the work this body is accomplishing, and enjoyed immensely meeting his friends here.

WILLIAM OTIS CROSBY.

BY J. M. ARMS SHELDON.

A Pupil's Tribute.

This is an occasion when it is impossible to remain silent, however inadequately one may speak. As a pupil of Professor Crosby, and as one he numbered among his friends for nearly fifty years, admiration and gratitude must find expression.

William Otis Crosby, as Instructor, and later, as Professor of Geology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was a master in his chosen field. His lectures were crystallized thought, so clearly and logically presented that no attentive student could fail to understand his meaning. Toward the inattentive he showed infinite patience, and an eager desire to rouse thought and to help wisely.

But Professor Crosby was far more than a lecturer on well-known subjects. He was the very embodiment of the spirit of original scientific research; he reveled in the discovery of truth, and in this field he was at his very best.

This marked ability for original research in the young student was quickly discovered by his teacher, Professor Alpheus Hyatt, then Professor of Palæontology at the Institute, and Curator of the Museum of the Boston Society of Natural History. It was not long before the young man became an assistant to Professor Hyatt, and for years while teaching in the Institute he had charge of the mineralogical and geological collections of the Natural History Society.

These collections, taken as one, when completed by Professor Crosby, were a model for future museums to copy. It was an unique demonstration of the natural system of classification. Beginning with the simple and passing, step by step, to the complex, it was a forceful and impressive illustration of the evolutionary processes of inorganic Nature. It revealed the close relationships of elements and compounds, of minerals and rocks, and also some of the laws governing their formation and growth.

As a teacher of Natural Science in Boston schools for nearly twenty years, and as one who took hundreds of boys and girls, between the ages of eight and eighteen to the museum to study this collection, I wish to bear testimony to its great educational and scientific value. In its chief features it would be as valuable a hundred years hence as in the time of its creation. To the investigator it was a stimulus, to the teacher an illuminating guide, and to the child "A story that goes right on."

It was this natural, or, if I may say, genealogical classification of inorganic and organic nature—that Professor Hyatt sought persistently to carry out in his museum—which made this museum unique among American scientific institutions, and which called forth the remark from Professor Archibald Geikie, "There is nothing comparable with it in Europe."

The collection of Professor Crosby was regarded with pride and enthusiasm by Professor Hyatt, and when it was supplemented by Guide Number XII, in the series of "Guides for Science Teaching," then the teachers found they were splendidly equipped in this branch for their Nature work.

Professor Crosby was the author of many geological

papers; of these I cannot speak at this time. Neither can I do more than allude to the ideally sympathetic home conditions which made his large achievement possible. He was fortunate in his wife, Miss Alice Ballard, a Boston University student, who from first to last has been a helpmate in the broadest and best sense of the word. He was also fortunate in his son, Irving B. Crosby, who has been his companion in his geological researches.

Professor Crosby's mental attitude toward Life and the needs of humanity was too comprehensive to be limited to the scientific field. He recognized worthy undertakings in other fields than his own. He was a staunch advocate for the more liberal education of Woman, and for equal suffrage when this cause was extremely unpopular!

Becoming familiar with the aims of this Association, and believing in them heartily, he became a member, "to help on," as he said, "the truly great work."

This tribute to Professor Crosby, inadequate as it is, will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of many of his pupils who still feel the inspiration of "those halcyon days" when Master and learners together were seeking, from Nature herself, more knowledge and ever more absolute truth.

After this tribute was written the following dates and facts were sent to me which will be valuable to the historical student.

William Otis Crosby was born in Decatur, Ohio, Jan. 14, 1850. His father, Francis William Crosby, was born in Schenectady, N. Y., in 1823, and his mother, Hannah Everett Ballard, in Franklin, Vt., in 1824. His paternal grandfather and grandmother were Henry Sibley Crosby and Ann Capron. The Crosby ancestry goes back to Simon Crosby, who came over in 1635 and settled in Cambridge; his ancestry has been traced back in England to 1440.

The maternal grandparents were Frederick Ballard and Achsah Everett. The first Ballard ancestor in America was William in 1636. It was from his son, John, born in 1653, that Otis (as he was always called) descended.

The first Everett to come over was William at the age of 17. He came in 1636, and settled in Dedham.

Penuel, the father of Achsah Everett, was born in Dedham in 1758; he went to New London, N. H., where he married Hannah Slack. There is a common ancestry with the famous Edward Everett in the latter part of the 17th century.

In 1870 Otis went with his father to Georgetown, Col., where the father was engaged as the owner of a silver mine. During the year a party from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology went to Georgetown to inspect mining operations, and to climb Gray's Peak (14,400 feet). Otis and his father were familiar with the mountain and with all that region, and it was their privilege to accompany the Institute party on the climb and on other expeditions. Prof. Runkle (later President of the Institute) was one of the party, and he became so interested in the wide-awake boy that he persuaded him to come to the Institute, which Otis did in 1871. Otis returned to Colorado at the end of the school year, and remained until September, 1873, working with his father to earn means to continue his course at the Institute. In June, 1876, he was graduated from the Institute, and in the fall began work as assistant in the Geological Department. In time he became full Professor and head of the Department.

Prof. Crosby's deafness was necessarily a handicap and, owing to its restrictions, he retired in 1907 from the Institute on the Carnegie Foundation. After that date much of his time was spent in consulting work, relative to the location of dams, tunnels, etc. All this economic work gave him wonderful opportunities for furthering geological knowledge through the data he was able to gather, and through his ability to assimilate it, and he was still engaged with deepest interest on several geological problems.

Among the greatest dams for which Prof. Crosby made the geologic studies were the Muscle Shoals dam, the largest in the world, the Keokuk dam, the third largest, Arrow Brook dam, highest in the world, and the dam on the Pallaresa, Spain, highest in Europe. Besides these, many smaller

dams were located in this country, Canada and Mexico. In some cases Prof. Crosby went against the judgment of eminent geologists and engineers, when the lives of thousands of people and millions of dollars depended upon the correctness of his judgment, and the results were always satisfactory.

Prof. Crosby died, after an illness of only four days, Dec. 31, 1925.

TWO CANNON BALLS.

REMARKS BY CHARLES W. HAZELTON.

We will allow that an old cannon ball, or even two old cannon balls, would not be considered of much interest or value to anyone today for use *as* cannon balls, as the styles in war equipment have been very much changed since these were made, but if they represent, or in any way are connected with events of years ago, we will assume that a few words about them as an explanation of why they are here will be of a little interest.

The time that we will refer to goes back to the month of March of the year 1776, which, as you all know, was an eventful year for this country generally, and especially so for the City of Boston.

I can tell you *where* and *how* these balls were found and how they came here, but how they got where they were found is a matter of conjecture to some extent. Although the history of Boston covering that year and especially the diary of Deacon William Tudor help us, I also have the opinion of some of the present-day historians; so am not entirely without authority for my statements.

Apparently not much has been written on the subject of cannon balls—there is more in history regarding the *results* from the use of them. Tradition is also somewhat mixed as well as deficient. Boston at one time was sometimes called the city of three hills, which fact, as you know, gave occasion

or a reason for the use of the word "Trimount" ; or, later, the much used "Tremont."

The three hills were Beacon Hill on which is located the State House; Copp's Hill at the North end, near which is the old burying ground, and the old North Church; and Fort Hill near the Eastern waterfront, the latter embracing the territory bounded by Milk, Pearl and Broad Streets.

In due time the space occupied by Fort Hill became very much needed for business purposes, and in 1866 the city decided to take the tract from the different owners, cut down the hill, and with the material build a new waterfront street to be called Atlantic Avenue, running from Rowe's Wharf to Eastern Avenue, thus cutting off a large portion of India, Central, Long, T and Commercial docks, which later were filled with material from the hill, thus making available for business purposes, a large tract of land in that part of the city.

The work of cutting down the hill was done in the years of 1870, '71 and '72. Mr. B. N. Farren of Montague City was the contractor for the work, and it was in his employ that I was on this work for nearly two years.

On top of the hill was a small circular park with large trees, and surrounded by an iron fence. This park was called "Washington Mall," named so soon after the British troops evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776. The small circular park now in Fort Hill Square represents the top of the hill.

During the work of 1871 many cannon balls were found in the earth, and that is where these came from. By reason of this hill (then called Corn Hill) commanding the harbor, the British had kept it heavily fortified. As a result of, or in connection with the uprising and gathering of American troops around Boston early in 1776, as a move in the direction of driving the British troops out of Boston, during the night of March 4th, American troops under the command of Brigadier General Thomas occupied and roughly fortified Dorchester, now called South Boston Heights.

The Commander-in-Chief of these forces at this time was General Artemas Ward. More or less of a bombardment of Fort Hill was carried on the next day, but Deacon Tudor in his diary says that "on account of March 7th being a Fast

Day, there was no fighting." It is therefore assumed that these cannon balls were thrown from South Boston Heights, at this time.

The hill was eighty (80) feet high above the surrounding streets and forty (40) feet were taken off as the first cutting. In this top cutting on the side toward South Boston, a large number of these balls was found. As found they were taken charge of by the City Engineer in charge of the work (Mr. W. F. McConnell), who had them taken to City Hall. He also had the stands made. These two were given by him to Mr. Farren, who brought them to Montague City. When Mr. Farren moved from Montague City to Philadelphia, he gave them to me, and I am very glad to give them to the P. V. M. A.

HOPE ATHERTON AND HIS TIMES.

BY ARTHUR H. TUCKER OF MILTON.

Ancestry and Early Life.

The story of Hope Atherton and his times, here given, contains nothing new, nothing that has not been told. From many sources, however, have been picked up the records of events intimately touching not only the life of this man, which, though short in years, extended through a period as stirring as any in the story of New England, but also the customs and daily life of the colonists in his day.

These miscellaneous gleanings from the labors of many others are here gathered together in an endeavor to picture the life of this one man who, among many others, stood bravely to the tasks which the conditions of the times imposed.

For a half century after the settlement of the Plymouth Colony, the English settlers lived in general on peaceful terms with the Indian tribes. This was due in large measure to the firm but friendly attitude of the men of the Plymouth Colony toward their neighbors the red men.

After the lapse of fifty years, the white population in New

England had increased to perhaps 40,000 and the native tribes were of about an equal number.

The whites had spread themselves all along the coast line from Penobscot to Manhattan, had explored and settled along the navigable rivers, and had scattered settlements inland. All this territory was fairly purchased from the Indians, in so far as they could understand the meaning of a transfer, or ownership, or a deed of conveyance. Of course the natives could not look forward a generation or two and foresee the effect produced on their hunting and fishing privileges by the cutting of the forests, the clearing of meadows and pastures, the building of towns, the damming of streams, and the increased population. But all these things necessarily changed very much the living conditions of the red men. They realized that they were an inferior race, that they were so regarded by the whites, and there came the time when there must be a decisive conflict. The two races could not live together successfully, the red man not being capable of bringing himself up to the white man's standard of industry and honesty. He was by nature a hunter, and this occupation inevitably unfitted him for any work at home, the women being obliged to do all the cultivation of their meagre crops, the work of dressing and cooking the animal food, the erection of wigwams, and the packing of their possessions when moving from place to place. Friction between the races was common, but a greater and a decisive conflict was inevitable. It simply had to be. It seems probable that the red men, unconsciously and in a vague way, realized this situation, perhaps even better than the incoming white men. It is possible that the Indian sachem Philip, in a crude way, had analyzed the situation. In any event his name has been given to the bitter conflict which culminated in more than a year of warfare, with terrible suffering on both sides, which terminated soon after his own death. Philip himself was an Indian in whom it is difficult to find any good or admirable quality. His chief mission seems to have been that of inciting the fierce hatred of the red men against the white, and stirring his people all over southern New England to a war of extermination.

The period of this warfare of 1675 is one of the most interesting and eventful in our early colonial history.

The subject of this sketch, Hope Atherton, spent his boyhood in a home closely in touch with the troublous times, and the years of his manhood, short though they were, saw much of the very forefront of the struggle, in which he took an active part and which brought on his death at the early age of thirty-three. Let us look into the story of his life and see what part he played in those stirring times.

The town of Atherton is ten miles northwest of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, in England. This county has always been distinguished for its ancient families, whose names were the same as their manorial estates. Some of the old families of New England were branches of them, as Standish of Standish, of which Duxbury was originally a part (represented by Myles Standish of Plymouth); Mawdesley of Mawdesley (represented by John and Henry Mawdesley of Dorchester), whose descendants in New England changed their name to Moseley; and Atherton of Atherton (represented by Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester and his brother James Atherton of Milton and Lancaster).[1]

Robert de Atherton lived in the time of King John 1199–1216. From him we trace down through the centuries to Humphrey Atherton who was born in Lancashire, England, about 1609, and came with his wife (Mary Wales) and their three young children, in the ship, James, from Bristol, England, in 1635, to Dorchester in New England. Beginning with Consider (who was the first boy, born in New England, to this family) there were nine children born here, making twelve in all, of whom Hope, the subject of this sketch, was the tenth child. It is interesting to note that the entire family lived to mature life. At about the time when Humphrey Atherton arrived with his young family in Dorchester, the larger part of the Dorchester Church, with its pastor, removed to Windsor, Connecticut, and Humphrey Atherton, with his brother-in-law Nathaniel Wales, assisted Rev. Richard Mather (who came in the same ship with them)

[1] *N. E. Hist. Reg.*, Vol. 35, p. 67.

in nurturing the Dorchester Church back into thrifty life again. As the years went on, Humphrey Atherton became more and more a prominent figure in the town and the colony, and it will throw a little light on the boyhood environment of Hope if we enumerate briefly some of the activities in which his father was engaged.

In 1644 there were "wardens" appointed to take care of and manage the affairs of the first public school in Dorchester. Blake in his *Annals* says that "they were to see that both the master and the scholar performed their duty, and to judge of, and end, any difference that might arise, between master and scholar, or their Parents, according to sundry rules and directions there set down." Humphrey Atherton was one of the first wardens, who were chosen for life. Thus was inaugurated the public school, which had no precedent in America.

In 1645, two hundred and fifty pounds was raised to build a new meeting-house, to replace the earlier one (which was a rude building, thatched with straw, with a stairway on the outside), and Humphrey Atherton was one of those chosen to attend to this matter.[1]

He had a decided taste for military affairs, organized the first training band in Dorchester in 1664, was early a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, was its captain 1650 to 1658, commanded the Suffolk regiment with title of major general, was chief military officer in New England, many years Selectman and Town Treasurer, deputy to General Courts 1638–41, in 1659 was Speaker, and had great experience and skill in treatment of the Indians.

Capt. Johnson in his *Wonder-working Providence* speaks of Humphrey Atherton as a "lively courageous man," and says:—"Altho he be slow of speech, yet he is down right for the business, one of cheerful spirit, and entire for the country." [2]

In 1645 the commissioners of the United Colonies appointed a council of war, placed Capt. Myles Standish at its head, with Humphrey Atherton as one of his colleagues. He is said to have been "a man of courage and presence of

[1] *Hist. Dor.*, p. 176.

[2] *Hist. Dor.*, p. 104.

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mind," for when he was sent with twenty men to Pessacus,[1] an Indian sachem, to demand the arrears to the colony of three hundred fathom of wampum, Pessacus put him off for some time with dilatory answers, not suffering him even to come into his presence.[2] Atherton finally led his men to the door of the wigwam, entered himself with pistol in hand, leaving his men without, and, seizing Pessacus by the hair of his head, drew him forth from the midst of a great number of his attendants, threatening, if any of them interfered, that he would despatch them.[3] Pessacus paid what was demanded, and the English returned in safety.

Gen. Humphrey Atherton had a grant of five hundred acres at Nonotucke, beyond Springfield, May 26, 1658—given to him by the General Court in recognition of his public service, Nonotucke being the Indian name for the region about Hadley and Hatfield. This grant interfered with other grants previously made, and so, in Nov., 1659, the Court granted an additional two hundred acres (seven hundred in all) which were relocated at Waranoke, now Westfield.[4] The estate of Gen. Humphrey Atherton, after his death, included in the inventory a "Farme of seven hundred acres at Waronoco." [5]

The death of Major General Humphrey Atherton, by accident, in 1661, deprived the colony of one of its principal men.

"While returning home in the dark after reviewing his troops on Boston Common his horse was struck by a stray cow. In the collision he was thrown and killed. Sept. 16, 1661." [6]

[1] Pessacus was one of the Narragansett tribe and was at Turners Falls at the time of the fight there.

[2] Richard Collicot of Dorchester and Milton was with this expedition, which was in 1645.

[3] *A. & H. Art. Co.*, Vol. 1, p. 52.

[4] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 26.

[5] *N. E. Hist. Reg.*, Vol. 10, p. 361.

[6] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, p. 428.

Epitaph on his tombstone at Dorchester:

"Here lyes our Captaine, & Major of Suffolk was withall;
A Godly Magistrate was he, and Major Generall,
Two troops of Hors with him heare came, such worth his love did crave;
Ten companyes of Foot, also mourning, marcht to his grave.
Let all that Read be sure to keep the Faith as he has don,
With Christ he lives now Crowned, his name was Humpry Atherton."

The first recorded history regarding Hope Atherton is in the records of the old First Church of Dorchester, under the title of "Baptisms, Anno 1646," where we find this entry:—

"Hope Atherton 30—6 mo—46," by which we may understand that he was baptized on Aug. 30, 1646, and that he was then probably less than a week old.[1]

In the absence of records, we can only assume that he lived the usual life of the boys of that period. He entered Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1665, at the age of nineteen, and later became the only teacher in the only school in his native town. This was in 1668.

Turning now to the records of Hatfield, Massachusetts, we find on the records of the "West Siders" (as the people on the west bank of the Connecticut River were called before they became the town of Hatfield), under the date of Nov. 21, 1668, that "a committee of three men was chosen to go to the Bay and seek out a suitable minister for the town." This committee reported in May of 1669 that they had "already pitched upon a man who is recommended to us by sundry reverend and godly persons, and hope we shall obtain his help. The man whom we have in our eye is one Mr. Atherton, a son of the late Worshipful Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester." On May 17, 1669, the people of Hatfield, by an unanimous vote, formally invited him to settle as minister.[2]

Now on the Dorchester records:—

"At a meeting of the Towne of Dorchester orderly called together on the 8 June, 1669. A motion being made by our Breatheren and friends at or neer hadly, unto this Towne, for to dismiss Mr. Atherton from his engagement to the Schole in Dorchester, unto the publique worke of the minestry with them their, it is therefore put to the vote, whether the Towne will be willing to dismiss Mr. Atherton, from his Engagement, by the 29 Septem next, or sooner, if the towne by their Committee can provide a supply for ther schole.[3] Voted in the Affermative."

The Town of Hatfield was incorporated May 31, 1670.

[1] *Dor. Chh. Records*, p. 176.

[2] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 55.

[3] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 205.

At the very first town meeting, held Aug. 8, 1670, the following vote was recorded: "The town of Hatfield hath granted to allow Mr. Hope Atherton sixty pounds per year, during his work in the ministry among us, provided they are free from providing him wood for his firing." [1]

On Nov. 25, 1670, the people of Hatfield passed another vote, by which it was decided to build for their new minister a suitable house, and to give him a salary of sixty pounds a year, "two thirds to be paid in good merchantable wheat, and one third in pork," and with the proviso, "if our crops fall so short that we cannot pay in kind, then we are to pay in the next best we have." The formation of the church, and ordination of the minister, occurred probably in April, 1671.

Hope Atherton married Sarah, daughter of Lieut. John Hollister of Weathersfield, Connecticut, in 1674. They had three children:—

Hope junior and Joseph—twins, born Jan. 7, 1675.[2]

Sarah—Born Oct. 26, 1676.[3]

The Hatfield records are missing for the four years 1673–77. This was the active period of Hope Atherton's ministry, and we are unfortunately left in ignorance of what happened there during that entire time.[4]

Records.

In many a New England town the old records have been lost, often by fire, or simply through lack of care. But, in those that are left to us, there are found many brief entries which are not only interesting but also very helpful in placing before us today a picture of the life of the community in the period which we are considering. Here are a number, taken much at random, which may be considered, not as extreme cases, but as fair samples of common experience, at the time.

Dorchester, Feb. 13, 1638. "Ordered that Jo Maudsley and Nicholas Wood shall Keepe the Cowes for this yeere, in the ordinary Cow pasture, the said keepers to

[1] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 57.

[2] Hope died young.

[3] Married John Parsons of Northampton.

[4] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 2, p. 452.

blow their horne at fyve of the clock in the morning, at Joseph Pharnsworth, and so along the town till he come to Mr. Meinots, and every one on the north side of the town to bring their Cowes befor the meeteing house, the Rest to bring their cowes beyound Mr. Stoughtons dore, or elce the keepers to drive away the heard, and not to stay for the rest." [1]

This and similar arrangements for the daily herding of the cattle were in force, for general convenience, in the various towns throughout the colonies for many years. Dorchester people were early risers in those days.

The records contain numerous items year after year relating to fencing, hogs, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, very minute regulations as to the times of completing fence repairs, allowing cattle to pasture, etc. Penalties were imposed for violations of town orders, and, as money was scarce, those in authority were obliged to seize such property as was available, to satisfy the payment of fines.

Dorchester, Jan. 3, 1648. "Selectmen gave order that Richard Baker have his warming pan taken upon destresse, for not mending the way by Mrs. Stoughtons house." [2]

Notice that this was in the month of January, when a warming pan was a desirable article to possess.

Dorchester, June 13, 1670. "It was ordered that whereas Constable Thomas Davenport had taken a gun of Joseph Long, for a fine for his defective fence, at the great lots, that he should deliver him his gun again, upon his payment of six shillings, besides the Constable's fee." [3]

30 June, 1662. "Widdow Thomas fined five shillings for permitting fier, to be carried forth her howse, in an unlawful vessell, not covered, being breach of town order." [4]

20 Dec., 1662. "Wm. Cotton and Zachery Philip, each fined five shillings a pes for thear Chimnyes fyringe." [5]

[1] *Dor. Town Records*, p. 42.
[2] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 413.
[3] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 217.
[4] *Boston Rec.*, p. 10.
[5] *Boston Rec.*, p. 11.

30 Nov., 1663. "Ordered that if any chymney be one fier, soe as to flame out of the topp theare of, the partie in whose possession the chimney is, shall pay ten shillings for every defect." [1]

29 May, 1665. "John Glander fined ten shillings for opening shop without liberty, which fine he paid in a Chaier." [2]

By law of the colony, a dog that had bitten or killed a sheep was to be hanged. Usually the guilty dog was taken to the woods, a slender tree bent down, and a cord fastened to the top and to the dog's neck. The elastic sapling then sprang back, with the dog suspended in the air. Sometimes both cats and dogs were hanged at the short end of the well sweep.[3]

May 11, 1644. "It is ordered that all doggs for the space of three weeks after the publishing hereof, shall have one legg tyed up, and if such a dogg shall break loose, and be found doing any harm, the owner of the dogg shall pay damages; if a man refuse to tye up his dogg's legg, and hee be found scraping up fish in a cornfield, the owner thereof shall pay twelve pence damages, besides whatever damage the dogg doth." [4]

The Indians had used fish as a fertilizer in their corn fields, and had early taught the settlers at Plymouth to do so.

Massachusetts law of 1672:—

"A person found drunken, so as thereby to be bereaved or disabled, in the use of his understanding, appearing in his speech or gesture," had to pay ten shillings or be "set in the stocks one hour or more, in some open place, as the weather would permit, not exceeding three hours." [5]

Massachusetts towns were subject to fine if they did not provide the stocks and keep them in order.

"Tobacco might not, except under a penalty of half a crown, be taken, in any inn, except in a private room there, so as neither the master of the house, nor any guest there, should take offence thereat."

[1] *Boston Rec.*, p. 14.
[2] *Boston Rec.*, p. 19.
[3] *Hist. Whately*, p. 43.
[4] *Chase's History of Haverhill*, p. 59.
[5] *Palfrey N. E.*, III, p. 47.

The Great and General Court, in view of "the evil practice of sundry persons, by exorbitancy of the tongue, in railing and scolding," ordered that "the offender in that kind, be set in a ducking stool, and be dipped over head and ears, three times, in some convenient place of fresh or salt water, as the court or magistrate should judge meet." [1]

Dorchester, June 11, 1667. "Joseph Birch called before the selectmen to answer for his being lately drunk—ordered to pay his fine or sitt in the stocks." [2]

Dorchester, July 10, 1692. "Widow Content Mason was cast out of the church, for her great wickedness, Running Away from her fathers house with peetter wood, which was Another womans husband; and for stealing of her fathers mony, and other goods, which shee caryed Away with her." [3]

Dorchester, 8 June, 1674. "Ordered the constable to demand, and receive, twenty shillings of John Plumb for entertaining his Sonne in law Chub, and his wife, contrary to town order, and also to give plumb notice that he despatch the said Chub, and his wife, away, and cler the town of them." [4]

We must bear in mind that living conditions were primitive in the extreme. Industry was essential on the part of every individual in order to produce the food, clothing and shelter which were necessary to life. The total production of the entire community was only sufficient for the total requirements of that community. A person who became unfitted for labor became a public charge at once, unless he was a member of a family large enough to care for him. There was no money, so that the average person could not save anything for the future. It was a hand-to-mouth existence. These conditions seem to explain the vigilance of Dorchester selectmen in demanding to know the business of persons who came to visit their near relatives, even for a week, and in warning people out of town, or placing them under heavy bonds. The records of other towns do not indicate equal activity along that line.

[1] *Palfrey N. E.*, III, p. 47.
[2] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 295.
[3] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 15.
[4] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 264.

Dorchester, 14 Sept., 1674. "Constable was appointed to speak with William Chaplin and give him notice, that complaint is made of some abuse that is committed at or about his house, by playing at kitle-pins, and expending the time Idly, and that he do forewarn him, not to sell beare without license, upon his perill." [1]

Dorchester, 9 Sept., 1678. "Ordered that the constable should give notice, to John Brown and John Hopen to depart the Towne, as being noe inhabitants. Also that Hopen be summoned to appear and give an account of his manner of living, at the house of Deacon Blake, the 18 instant, being wednesday, an hower before son sett." [2]

Cambridge, 8 June, 1646. "Thomas Brigham delinquent in the Breach of the order about hogs, viz. for his wives rescuing of two Hogs from the Impounder when He should a driven them to pound; for ten at one time, and two at another being unringed, and three being impounded; allsoe for two oxen of his."

"Fined—Thomas Brigham for the breach of the Hog order to pay for the two rescued away by his wife, and for the other, 7s 6d." [3]

Dorchester, 13 Apr., 1667. "Mrs. Clarke was called before the church, but she, manifesting noe repentance for her sin of an ungoverned tongue, was cast out of the church." [4]

Dorchester, 20 Jan., 1683. "Consider Atherton was called before the church to make acknowledgement of his sins of drunknes, both formerly, and now againe of late, the which he did by writing." [5]

Dorchester, 17 Oct., 1686. "Mr. Nathaniel Glover did vollentaryly acknowledg his sin of being at unawares overtaken in drink." [6]

Dorchester, 8 Jan., 1687. "Sister Hix called before the church, to make confession of her sine of drunkennes,

[1] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 264.
[2] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 301.
[3] *Camb. Rec.*, p. 53.
[4] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 52.
[5] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 91.
[6] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 95.

being often taken in that sin, her confession was read in wrighting, and the vote was called for, and past by silence." [1]

Dorchester. Consider Atherton called in May, and in June, and in July, 1688—Finally the church voted that in view of his "Horrible refactorynes, the said Consider Atherton be declared an obstinat ofender, & an incoridgable drunkard and accordingly to be delt withall." [2]

Dorchester, 1691. "Captain Robert Badcock was before the church to confesse his sin of drunkennes, of which there was plaine evidence, and the church was satisfied by a silent vote." [3]

Dorchester, 1665. "William Chaplin appeared before the selectmen for Entertaining Peter Chaplin, his brother, as an inmate into his house, without the approbation of the selectmen, first had and obtained. Required to give bond for twenty pounds and fined five shillings." [4]

Dorchester, 1666. "Paid by the town to Widdow Meade for the yeere 1666, for ringing the bell, three pounds." [5]

Dorchester, Jan. 11, 1673. "Ordered that the meeting house bell, being broken, and it may be dangerous to be rung; it shall not be rung any more, but speedily taken downe and meanes used to Conveigh it to England, that another may be procured either ther or elce wher." [6]

It may be noted that all our lands were bought from the Indians, and that every man's deed therefore is really based on these original grants from the Indians. And we must admit that the reservations stated in the deeds still remain in force, that is, that the descendants of the savage have still a right to hunt, or fish, along our streams, and to plant their wigwams on our Commons. [7]

In 1684 the proprietors of Haverhill voted:—

"It being the interest and desire of the inhabitants, for the sake of back, belly and purse, to keep a stock of sheep,

[1] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 96.
[2] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 97.
[3] *Dor. Chh. Rec.*, p. 102.
[4] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 176.
[5] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 186.
[6] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 260.
[7] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 385.

in which all endeavors hitherto have been invalid and of no effect; For further trial, the selectmen have power granted to them to call forth the inhabitants capable of labor with suitable tools, about Michaelmas, to clear some land at the town's end, sides, or skirts, to make it fit for sheep to feed upon with the less hazzard; and he that is warned as above, and doth not accordingly come and attend the service, shall pay a fine of two shillings per day." [1]

Wolves were common and destructive throughout New England for more than a century. They killed sheep, goats, calves, swine and deer, and a bounty was paid to the amount of twenty shillings per head in 1693, and in some years it required most of the tax, in Hampshire county, to pay for wolves. Wild turkeys were abundant throughout the colony. A path over Mt. Holyoke was called "Turkey Pass." The birds remained plentiful for many years. As late as 1842 there was a flock on Mt. Tom, and some remained on Holyoke till 1845.[2]

In one week (and this was as late as Sept., 1725) no less than twenty bears were killed within two miles of Boston.[3]

Dorchester, July 5, 1665. At a meeting of the selectmen:—

"Whereas there is lately a new gallery set up in the meeting house in Dorchester, without leave from the Towne, or the selectmen of the Towne, and the said gallery seems to prove prejudicial to the light, and offensive to many, we do declare that the erection of the sayd gallery is disorderly; and therefore do order that none of the parties that built it, nor any other, shall presume to sit in the sayd gallery.

signed—Roger Clapp,
Anthony Fisher,
Wm. Sumner."

Dorchester, Sept. 11, 1665. "We whose names are underwritten doe acknowledge that it was our weaknes, that we were so inconsiderate as to make a small seat, in the

[1] *Chase's Hist. Haverhill*, p. 146. [2] *Judd's Hadley*, pp. 352–58.
[3] *Drake's Roxbury*, p. 266.

meeting house, without more cleare and full approbation of the Towne, and the selectmen thereof;

INCREASE ATHERTON,
SAMUEL PROCTOR,
THOMAS BIRD." [1]

Dorchester, Sept. 12, 1670. "Ordered to procure some men to stop the holes of the meeting house by daubing of them." [2]

The first Dorchester Record Book is the oldest town record in Massachusetts, covering the period Jan., 1632, to 1720, and containing orders relating to land grants, fences, roads, etc. There is one important order, however, of special interest, being the first public provision for a free school in America—as follows:—[3]

Dorchester, 20 May, 1639. "Ordered that there shall be a rent of twenty pounds yerely, forever imposed upon Thomsons Island, to bee payd by every person that hath propertie in the said Iland, according to the proportion that any such person shall from tyme to tyme injoy, and posesse there, and this towards the mayntenance of a schole in Dorchester."

Dorchester, 19 May, 1651. "It was voted whether there should be a scoole in dorchester, the major part present then did vote that they would have a scoole and a scoole-master forwith provided." [4]

Dorchester, 1682. "A rate of thirty two pounds for the use of the towne, and to pay for the scole master's dyet."

Dorchester, 1684. "An account of the Rates;—Payed to Mr. John Williams [5] Schoole master sixteen pounds." [6]

Dorchester, 14 Jan., 1670. "Notice was given to Henery Merrifield to discharge the town of his daughter Funnell, which hath been at his hous about a weeke."

[1] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 163.
[2] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 218.
[3] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, p. 428.
[4] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 416.
[5] He was in Dorchester at the time when Consider Atherton, and others, gave the church so much trouble on account of drunkenness. He later became the minister of Deerfield, and the "Redeemed Captive."
[6] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 214.

Dorchester, 8 Jan., 1671. "The wife of Henery Merrifield appeared before the Selectmen, to answer for entertaining of their daughter Funnell, Contrary to towne order, whose answer was, that she was their daughter, and Could not turn her out of doars this winter time, but she would willingly returne to her husband, as soone as a passadg presents." [1]

Boston, 27 Oct., 1662. "Orders for the Bellman:—"You are to walke through and about the Towne, from twelve oclock at nighte, to five in the morning, and if you see any extreordinary light or fire in any house or vesselles, you are to repaire to the same. If you see any light in any Vessell att any of the dockes or Creekes, Command them Oute, And speak to all houses wheare you see any light, to have a care of them, except you know the occation of theare keping the said lighte." [2]

Dorchester, 9 Nov., 1673. "Paid to Ezra Moss for a woolf—6s 2d." [3]

By a law of the Colony enacted in 1694, the "age of consent" to marriage was determined to be "the man 14 years and the woman 12." There were many early marriages.

Hadley, 1678. "Jane Jackson was convicted by the court of stealing from her master, and sentenced to be whipped twenty lashes, upon her naked back, which punishment was performed in court." (She would have been hanged in Old England for the same offence.) [4]

Cambridge, 20 Nov., 1648. "It is ordered that there shalbe an eight peny ordinary provided, for the Townsmen, every second Munday of the month, upon there meeting day, and that whoever of the Townsmen faile to be present, within half an houre of the ringing of the bell, he shall lose his dinner, and pay a pinte of sacke, and the like penalty shalbe payed by any that shall depart from the rest, without leave." [5]

[1] *Boston Rec.*, p. 11.
[2] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 238.
[3] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p.257.
[4] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 98.
[5] *Camb. Rec.*, p. 78.

Haverhill, 1655. The town required that every freeholder should be compelled to attend town meetings, when lawfully warned, "and having lawful warning he is to come within half an hour after the meeting is begun, and continue till sunset, if the meeting hold so long, under the penalty of a halfe bushel of Indian corn or the value of it." [1]

Cambridge, Jan. 13, 1677. "Granted to Jonathan Marrett, liberty to fall a tree, in the commons, for a cider press." [2]

Taxes were then denominated "rates." There was a country rate, county rate, town rate, minister's rate, school rate, and minor rates such as the herdsman's rate and the shepherd's rate, etc., each assessed as needed, from time to time.

The minister's rate, payable in grain, was given to the constable to collect. He went to the inhabitants, and without delay the grain was deposited in the chamber of the minister's house. The minister sent some of the grain to Boston to pay for books and goods.

Town rates were levied to pay for building bridges, ringing the meeting-house bell, and all other services done for the town.

Boston was a thriving town, with its windmills and batteries, its crowded meeting-houses, its bustling dock and market place, its stately mansions, its gloomy prison, its queer old taverns, its curiously hanging signs, its crooked streets paved with cobble stones, its beacon and its whipping posts. All of these were familiar objects to Hope Atherton at the time of his young manhood. He saw neither street lamps nor sidewalks, but hitching posts were numerous, and nearly every large house had its horse block in front, for convenience in mounting and dismounting. The cows of many of the freeholders were pastured on the common. There were in the center of the town several large and handsome villas, notably that of Peter Sargeant, which in later years was known as the Province House." [3]

Five hundred persons came to New England in the nine

[1] *Chase's Hist. Haverhill*, p. 78. [2] *Camb. Rec.*, p. 168.
[3] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, Vol. 1, p. 556.

years following 1620, but in the eleven years from then to 1640 there were 26,000 who crossed over and settled here. After 1640, political conditions in Old England became very much improved, and emigration to New England almost ceased for a long period.[1]

Money.

The medium of trade for a long time in the colonies consisted of farm products, peltry and other commodities, including also the Indian shell beads, called wampum. From 1640 to 1740 the farmers of Massachusetts generally made their purchases, and paid their debts and taxes, with the products of their farms, and not with any form of money.[2]

Common laborers, artificers, soldiers, representatives, schoolmasters, ministers and magistrates were commonly paid for their services in something that was not money.

Wampum, which was in the shape of beads, was made of sea shells, mainly by the Indians of Long Island. In 1650 the Massachusetts colony ordered that wampum should be legal tender for debts, and it so remained for more than ten years. Its use in trade was continued for many years longer by the settlers.[3]

Voted in Northampton in 1666:—"Unanimously agreed by this church that each person shall contribute toward defraying the charge of the sacrement, three pecks and half of wheat for a year, this to be paid in to the Deacon, about the last of September, when he shall call for it." [4]

One of the Connecticut Valley towns stated in a petition dated 1690:—"Not one person in ten had any income of money in any manner." [5]

Wampum was often paid at ferries and inns. Silver coins were scarce and therefore the people found wampum very convenient—particularly on a journey. Wampum continued however to depreciate in value, and in 1675 a fathom of wampum was worth only 1s 3d. Bullets were used for money, and were legal tender for a farthing. Payments by

[1] *Proceedings P. M. V. A.*, Vol. 6, p. 503.
[2] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 206.
[3] *Hist. Whately*, p. 10.
[4] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 196.
[5] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 123.

undergraduates at Harvard 1650–59 were very rarely paid in money,—some entries show payments:—

"A sheep of 67 lbs.
2 Bushle wheat
25 lb. sugar
8 bushel malt
3 bu 2 pk apples
a fat cow
5 yds Kersey
2000 nails."

Even Gov. Dudley paid, from year to year, a large part of his son's college bills with Indian corn. [1]

About 1652 Massachusetts began to coin silver money, but it was many years before it became generally used throughout the colony.

Meeting-House.

The first meeting-house at Hatfield, to which Hope Atherton came in 1671, and which was built in accordance with a vote of the town on Nov. 6, 1668, is described as being thirty feet square, with galleries, a turret added in 1675, and a bell hung there in 1682. Prior to that date Jedediah Strong was paid eighteen shillings a year for blowing a trumpet to call the people to meeting.

The building was placed in the middle of the broad street, the pulpit at the west end, with an aisle extending from the east door to the pulpit.[2]

Hatfield may have had thirty families at the time Atherton settled there. There were only forty-eight men of sixteen years and over, in 1678, after the Indian War.

In 1669 a rate was ordered to purchase glass for the windows, but it is doubtful if the glazing was done at that time. It was voted (in 1699) to build a new meeting-house, but the old edifice survived that vote nearly fifty years.[3]

The Hingham meeting-house built in 1681 is the only model that survives today of these buildings—of the second

[1] *Palfrey's N. E.*, Vol. II, p. 57 and p. 399. [2] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 92.
[3] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 396.

period in New England. In many churches the ruling elders had a seat immediately below the pulpit, and in a place lower down sat the deacons, both facing the congregation. In the body of the house, seats were permanently assigned with reference to the dignity of the occupants.

There was no instrumental music, and for eighty or ninety years not more than ten different tunes were used in public worship. Few congregations could sing more than the five tunes, now known by the names of York, Hackney, Windsor, St. Mary's and Martyn's.

The singing of psalms was a part of the regular service in the meeting-house. As there were few books, the practice of "deaconing" the hymns originated very early, and they were sung one line at a time, the words being first read by the deacon, then sung by the congregation.[1]

It was early a question whether the Sabbath should be held to begin at sunset, or at midnight on Saturday. The former computation was favored in Connecticut. The latter was approved by Massachusetts Law.

In 1688 occurs the first reference to a curfew law in Hatfield. It was ordered that the church bell should be rung every evening at nine o'clock.[2]

Voted in Hadley, Dec. 21, 1676, "that the bell in the meeting house shall be rung at nine o'clock at night throughout the year winter & summer." The curfew bell was rung in Hartford in 1665, and in Boston in 1649.

Agreement at Dorchester, 1678, with David Jones "to clens the meeting hous, and to ring the bell, and to provide water for baptisme, for which he is to have three pounds a yeer out of the towne rate." [3]

Dorchester, 17 Feb., 1678. "Appointed four men to look after the boys on the meeting house on the lord's days, each to take the care of the boys orderly Caredg in the Publique meeting, each of them a quarter of a year." And later the number was increased to "thirteen tithing men." [4]

Hadley voted Jan. 11, 1672: "There shall be some sticks set up in the meeting house, in several places, with some fit

[1] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 143.
[2] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 114.
[3] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 307.
[4] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 310.

persons placed by them, to use them as occasion shall require to keep the youth from disorder." [1] The badge of the tithing man was a pole with a knob on one end and a tuft of feathers on the other. With the one he rapped the men's heads, and with the other he brushed the women's faces, when he caught them napping. It is said that a tithing man once got himself into trouble by rapping the head of a nodding man, whose face he did not see, under a belief that he was drowsing, when, in fact, he was only nodding assent to the preacher's doctrine.[2]

Dorchester, 1647. "Ordered that whereas we find by sad experience, that great disturbance and distractions is often occasioned by the frequenting of doggs & c. into the meeting house from tyme to tyme, especially in the time of publique worship of god, it is therefore ordered, that noe doggs, mastifes, hounds, curres, of any sex of them, shall be suffered to come to the meetinge house uppon any day that is for publique worship of god & c.

Fine 6d for first offence
12d for second offence." [3]

James Corse was paid for drumming to call the people to services on the Sabbath. This occurred after the year 1700. He lived in a palisaded house in that part of Deerfield now Greenfield, near the site of the present Mansion House.[4]

The Records of the town of Haverhill read:—"Abraham Tyler shall blow his horn in the most convenient place every lord's day about half an hour before the meeting begins, and also on lecture days, for which he is to have one peck of corn for every family for the year ensueing." This vote was passed at a town meeting in September, 1652. Previous to that Richarde Little had called the people together by drumming.[5]

The undemocratic custom of Old England of seating the worshippers by rank was rigidly adhered to by the Puritans, in spite of their totally different environment.

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 51. [2] *History of Shrewsbury*, by Andrew H. Ward.
[3] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 410. [4] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 5, p. 20.
[5] *Chase's Hist. Haverhill*, p. 78.

Deerfield voted in Town meeting, Oct. 31, 1696:—"That there shall be five men chosen as seaters to seat, that is to say, to determine where every person to be seated, shall sit in ye new meeting house."

To assist them in this task of diplomacy, six rules were laid down by this same town meeting, of which two will be enough to give an impression of their value in assisting the work of the committee:—"That the Rules which the seaters shall seat all persons by, shall be:—age, estate, place, and qualifications. That the second seat in the front gallery shall be esteemed equal in dignity with the fifth seat in the body of the meetinghouse."

"That a pound ratable estate, as in the list, shall be accounted equal with a year's age." [1]

In the old towns of Hampshire county and elsewhere, it was quite customary to have the turret for the bell in the center of the four-sided roof, and the bell rope hung down in the broad aisle, where the ringer stood. It was so in the meeting-house at Hadley.[2]

Up to about 1825 no apparatus for warming the New England meeting-house had been used. In cold weather every family started out with a foot stove, and the minister stood up and preached in a heavy overcoat and thick gloves. Going back a century and a half, to the days of Hope Atherton, the conditions within the meeting-house, at times, must have been colder and more disagreeable than in the open air.

There was strong opposition to fireplaces, or heat of any kind, in the meeting-house. An incident is told of one town which was among the first to provide a stove in the meeting-house, against the violent opposition of a large minority. On the sabbath a good lady, who sat next the stove, fainted. Some of the enemies of the stove arose in their wrath to take the hated stove out from the building, when to their amazement they found that there had been no fire in it.[3]

Foot stoves do not appear in Massachusetts until about 1730. Heated stones, bricks or pieces of plank probably were used long before stoves. The people of former genera-

[1] *Sheldon's Hist. Deerfield*, p. 204. [2] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 51.
[3] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 3, p. 256.

tions were hardy and inured to the cold. Sylvester Judd tells that he attended meeting in houses not warmed, until he was thirty-three years old, and says, furthermore, that "the people were not seriously incommoded by the cold, except on a few sabbaths, when young men and boys in the gallery knocked their feet together and made some noise." [1] Roxbury meeting-house was burned by a fire started from a foot stove.

We hear a good deal about the coldness of the meeting-houses of that period. We must also remember that these buildings must have been very close and warm, for four or five months of the year, and that the tithing man may have considered himself fortunate, in that his duties gave him enough exercise to keep himself from going asleep, under these drowsy conditions, during the long sermons.

In severe weather the sleeping rooms in the dwelling houses were intensely cold, but every family had a warming pan, chiefly used by the aged and by the women and girls. But a boy who would have his bed warmed was an object of derision among his fellows.

It was common to walk from the farms, barefooted, on Sunday, and when approaching the meeting-house, to put on shoes and stockings.[2] (Persons now living have told the writer of doing the same in their childhood, a few miles south of Boston.)

A petition to the General Court describes the conditions incident on crossing the Connecticut River to attend services at Hadley, before the Hatfield church was built:—

"Many times we are exposed to danger, for we must come at the instant of time, be the season how it will. Sometimes we come in considerable numbers in rainy weather, and are forced to stay till we empty our canoes, that are half full of water, and before we get to the meeting-house we are wet to the skin. At other times, in winter seasons, we are forced to cut and work them out of the ice, till our shirts be wet upon our backs. At other times, the winds are high, and waters rough, the current strong, and the waves ready to swallow us, our vessels tossed up and down so that our women and

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 324. [2] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 3, p. 270.

children do screech, and are so affrighted that they are made unfit for ordinances, and cannot hear so as to profit by them, by reason of their anguish of spirit, and when they return, some of them are more fit for their beds than for family duties and God's services, which they ought to attend."

This petition was dated May 3, 1667, by the "West Siders," as those residing across the river from Hadley were called.[1]

A burying ground was laid out in Hatfield in Feb., 1669, "twenty rod long easterly and westerly, and eight rod wide southerly and northerly." No permanent markers for the graves were used in the early days. The earliest date on a stone in the old burying ground is on the grave of Capt. John Allis in 1691.[2]

The burial place of Hope Atherton is not known. There are many who died before 1690 whose resting places have long since been lost to memory of the living. It was not unusual to deposit the dead in single graves scattered on the farms.

Schools.

The school, both within and without, like everything else in the colony, was primitive in the extreme. The problem of ventilation was not one which required serious attention. Fresh air was one of the things of which they had an abundance. Facing on Town Meeting Square in the old part of Dorchester, and close by the first meeting-house built by those who had come in the "Mary & John," stood the first school house, and across the street the house of Major General Humphrey Atherton so that it was not far for Hope Atherton, the young school teacher, to go from his work to his "dyate." This school is of more than usual interest to this Association because of the fact that it was the scene not only of the early labors of Hope Atherton, who became the first minister in Hatfield, but also of John Williams, so long the minister of the Deerfield Church. Like everything else which they did in those days, this innovation, of a public school, was entered into as a serious business; and rules and

[1] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 334.

[2] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 61.

regulations, long, elaborate and explicit, were laid down for the government of all concerned. We can only stop to give here two abbreviated samples of what was expected of the young teachers:—

"Secondly—The schoolmaster shall dilligently attend his school from the beginning of the 1st month (March) until the end of the 7th (Sept.). He shall every day begin to teach at seven oclock in the morning, and dismiss his school at five in the afternoon." [1]

This rule governed both Hope Atherton and, later on, John Williams, in their conduct of the school in Dorchester.

"Ninthly—And because the Rod of Correction is an ordinance of God, necessary sometimes to be dispenced unto children, it is ordered that the school master shall have full power to minister correction, to all, or any, of his scholars." The record says that "Sir Atherton became the school teacher in 1669, and that the consideration was to be twenty-five pounds, to be paid to him in such merchantable pay as the town usually pays Rates and Town charges in." [2]

In 1675 the selectmen ordered that the school house be fitted up with seats, and a lock and key for the door. There may have been neither of these conveniences before that time.[3]

School books were limited, like everything else. The early primers came over from England, before the printing of the New England Primer in or after 1660. They also had the "Horn Book," the "Bay Psalm Book" and the Testament. The horn book was a single sheet printed probably on one side only. It contained the alphabet and a few rudiments, and was covered with a piece of translucent horn, to protect it from wear and tear, and probably, too, from the dirt on the youngster's hands.[4]

The education of girls seems to have been regarded as unnecessary during the first century in our colonies. Even as late as the Revolution, comparatively few women could write their names. Boston did not allow girls to attend the

[1] *Dor. Town Rec.*, p. 64.
[2] *Hist. Dor.*, p. 488.
[3] *Hist. Dor.*, p. 445.
[4] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 70.

public school until 1790, and in Northampton they were not admitted until 1802.[1]

This custom did not prevail in Hatfield, however, for we find that provision was made, in January of 1678, for schooling for both boys and girls, and that similar votes were passed year by year. There were in 1711 sixty scholars, eighteen of whom were girls.[2]

Roads.

It was the regular custom of the Indians to burn over the woodlands, and these fires of the Indians had destroyed most of the underbrush. The woods were open, and forests were crossed without much difficulty. The Indians, who had never seen a horse until the English brought them to America, had paths between their villages and tribes, which were sometimes followed by the English. Johnson describes these paths as "only a foot wide" and Snow as "seldom wider than a cart's rut."

In 1692 Hatfield chose a man to join with some of Northampton and Hadley, "to lay out a way to the Bay for horses and carts, if feasible." It was not feasible, and wheels and runners did not pass from Hadley to Boston for many years after 1692. The earliest way or path to Boston by the way of Hadley was called "Nashaway Path" and was probably laid out in 1662, going through Springfield. In 1664 roads on each side of the Connecticut River were laid out, extending southerly from Hatfield to Windsor, and used for transporting goods to and from Boston, by water from Windsor, transportation of wares and merchandise in large quantities from the Bay towns being only practicable by this water route.[3]

Horses were chiefly used under the saddle, and before 1750 there were no wheel vehicles for horses to draw. Even in the next fifty years, horses did not take the place of oxen for farm work. Oxen remained the principal animals in the labors of the farm, even to the close of the eighteenth century.

[1] *Hist. Whately*, p. 20. [2] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. II, p. 453.
[3] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 45.

The sick and wounded, and sometimes the slain, were moved by cattle and cart. Even as late as June 9, 1743, Drs. Gardiner and Douglas of Boston performed a surgical operation on Jonathan Atherton, a grandson of Hope, in Hadley, and he remained there under doctor's care until Oct. 5, when he was taken to his home in East Hadley in Samuel Hawley's ox cart. There was no other way to move the feeble sufferer, the ox cart being the only vehicle with wheels, in this region, at the time of this incident.[1]

The County Court in 1674 ordered the town of Hadley "to build at least a foot bridge over the Fort River on the way to Brookfield." On the 12th Feb., 1675, the town voted to build a cart-bridge, and this was the first bridge on the Bay Road. These bridges were built by calling out the people to labor, every man according to his estate. Other public works were done in the same manner, and those who did no labor paid in grain, the price of labor being about two shillings per day. In 1672 John Smith of Hadley was directed by the Court "to fell a tree across Swift River, for a foot bridge, if any such be near at hand." Such foot bridges were not uncommon. A huge pine was felled across a stream in the town of Milton, before 1660, and so gave the name to "Pine Tree Brook."

The Bay Road through Quaboag (Brookfield) was only a horse path until after 1700, and the following account of Edward Taylor who travelled over this path from Boston to Springfield in 1671, to take up the pastorate there, is of interest. Leaving Boston 27th Nov. he writes:—"It was not without much apprehension of a tedious and hazardous journey, the snow being about mid-leg deep, the way unbeaten, or the track filled up again, over rocks and mountains, the journey being about 100 miles. A Mr. Cooke of Cambridge told us it was the desperatest journey that ever Connecticut men undertook. The first night we lodged at Marlboro, from thence we went out the day following about half an hour before sunrising for Brookfield, but about eleven o'clock we lost our way in the snow and woods, which hindered us some three or four miles, but finding it again by

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 376.

marked trees, on we went; but our talk was of lying in the woods that night, for we were then about thirty miles off from lodging, having neither house nor wigwam on the way. But about eight o'clock at night we came in, through mercy, in health, to our lodgings, from which the next day we set out for Springfield. And on the next day we ventured to lead our horses in great danger over Connecticut River, though against my will, upon ice which was about two days freezing, but mercy lingered with us, for the ice cracked every step, yet we came over safely and well, to the wonder of all who knew it. This being the first December we came to Westfield, the place of our desire." [1]

"For a hundred years or more after the settlement of Northampton," says the historian B. W. Dwight, "it was a week's journey for man and horse to go to Boston, and the path was only distinguishable by marks cut upon the trees, through the long stretch of forest that lay between the two places."

Oxen were much more numerous than horses, and were also used under the saddle. There is preserved in very good condition, in the old Fairbanks house at Dedham, an old ox saddle, made of wood.

There was a ferry at Hadley, on the Connecticut River, in 1661. Joseph Kellogg, his son and his grandson kept this ferry for a century.[2]

The Dutch at New York had sleighs before 1700, a few appear in Boston some years after 1700, but they were uncommon as late as 1720 and 1730. In 1737 loaded sleighs came from Sheffield to Westfield and the event was published in the newspapers, as being something remarkable. The universal method of travel, for a short or long distance, by men, women and children, was on horseback, and it was so for more than a century after Hope Atherton's time. Later wheeled vehicles came into use, and made a great change in travelling.[3]

As the climate of Old England was much less severe than that of New England, the first settlers knew nothing

[1] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 6, p. 467. [2] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 46.
[3] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 389.

about sleds or sleighs, nor was their usefulness discovered and accepted by them until many years after the settlement of Massachusetts. Heavy sleds were used long before sleighs. Wood was sometimes sledded before 1670, but in general it was carted long after that date. There were no sleigh rides in Hampshire county until more than half a century later.[1]

Drinks.

When our fathers came from England, the people were addicted to malt liquors, the old country was full of licensed ale houses, and an alewife was a woman, and not a fish. Inns, taverns and ordinaries were plenty. The English were excessive drinkers. "Drinking is the plague of our English gentry," says Peacham in 1622.

The first planters of New England were some of the best portion of this liquor-consuming nation. They abhorred drunkenness, and intended to be temperate drinkers. They licensed men to sell intoxicating drinks, and such places were called "ordinaries." The beer which ordinaries were required to keep was not so strong as much of the beer used in England. It was forbidden to sell, or give to any Indian, "rum, strong water, wine, strong beer, brandy, cider, perry or any other strong liquors, under penalty of 40s for every pint." [2]

The drinks in New England in the seventeenth century were wine, of several sorts including that called "sack," beer, including ale, and strong water, which was of two kinds, viz., brandy distilled from wine, and a liquor made from malt or grain. Wine and beer were the principal drinks, until rum was brought from the West Indies. This rum was called in 1654 by the General Court of Connecticut:—Barbadoes liquor, or more commonly "rum—kill-devil."

Beer was made regularly every week in the home, and cider began to be made and sold as early as 1648, the orchards then yielding sufficient fruit. The price of cider was 30s per bbl. in 1653. New England rum, distilled from molasses, was not made during the seventeenth century. Flip, made of beer, sugar and spirits, appears near the close of the

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 102.

[2] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 71.

century, and punch not long after. Barbadoes rum, from the West Indies, came into use here as early as 1650.

Joshua Fisher of Dedham was licensed in 1658 to "sell strong water to relieve the inhabitants, being remote from Boston, for one year." He was tavern keeper, is described as a "maker of artistic maps," and was one of the committee who came to Deerfield (in 1667) to lay out the 8000 acres, comprising the first grant.[1]

The early settlers of Massachusetts had many small stills in their houses, which appear in their inventories. Several ministers had these little stills. Spirits were distilled in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, apparently from grain, before 1662.

Drunkenness was rare in Massachusetts in 1642. Intemperance increased after the means of intoxication were more easily procured. Intemperance was more common in Boston and on the seaboard than in the agricultural towns. John Pynchon of Springfield retailed brandy at the rate of 12s per gallon in 1653, and rum at 6s in 1673. Whenever he had rum for sale there was no lack of purchasers. Rev. Pelatiah Glover, the minister of Springfield, bought of him each year for his own use about two gallons of rum and six quarts of wine.

The settlers along the Connecticut River planted apple trees; and cider and boiled cider appear there on the records as early as 1648, and also in the Bay towns. When they first began to make cider, the apples were crushed by hand with pounders in a trough, and cider mills are not mentioned in the valley towns before 1700.

It was estimated in Boston, in 1728, that a family in ordinary circumstances, consisting of nine persons (which was then a medium-sized household) "of middle figure," consumed in a year 12 barrels of beer, 4 barrels of cider and 6 gallons of wine.[2]

Our ancestors brought from England a large conception of the necessity of beer for daily use, and a very small opinion of water as a beneficial beverage—Roger Clapp says in 1630, writing at a time of many privations:—"It was not ac-

[1] *A. & H. Art. Co.*, Vol. 1, p. 102. [2] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 372.

counted a strange thing, in those days, to drink water." And he had in mind the opinion generally held, viz:—that it would have been thought a very strange thing, except under the desperate conditions then prevailing, to even think of such a thing as drinking water as a beverage.[1]

A committee appointed in Deerfield in 1745 to determine the exact requirements which could be properly considered necessary for the annual maintenance of the minister's family, consisting of man, wife and four children (oldest eleven), and a maid, included:—12 barrels cider, and other things, all very carefully enumerated.[2]

Between cutting up and carrying into the house 100 cords of wood (average two cords per week) and drinking 12 barrels cider (one barrel per month) it would seem to the thoughtful observer of this late day, that it would keep the family fairly busy, at these two tasks.

We find in Peter Thacher's diary these entries:—

May 20, 1661. "This day the ordination beer was brewed."
June 1, 1661. "I was ordained pastor of the Church in Milton."

The ten days' interval between the brewing and the serving of the beer was undoubtedly considered the proper time to produce the best results, for such occasions.

Regarding the convivial habits of the early ministers, who frequently met at councils, and other meetings which required remaining over night, it was their regular habit to have their flip every morning, and to drink it before washing for breakfast. On such occasions if one of their number overslept, he was condemned to lose his flip, unless he made up on the spot a verse of original poetry. On one such occasion a victim is said to have perpetrated the following:—[3]

"They say our forefathers, like goats,
First washed their eyes and then their throats;
But we, their sons, grown much more wise,
First wash our throats, and then our eyes."

He probably received his flip.

[1] *Roger Clapp's Memoirs*, p. 42. [2] *Sheldon's Hist. Deerfield*, p. 538.
[3] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 396.

It is said of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield in the funeral sermon at his death June 9, 1729, after he had been minister forty-four years (this sermon having forty numbered heads) that he was to be commended for his temperance in eating and drinking—by the following language:—"He would sometimes deny himself the lawful liberty of refreshing himself after preaching, that he might not give the least countenance to the love of strong drink." [1]

Wood.

New England was far from being an unbroken wilderness when first settled by the English. Wood describes the country in 1634:—"In many places, divers acres are clear, so that one might ride a hunting in most places of the land. There is no underwood save in swamps and low grounds; for it is the custom of the Indians to burn the wood in November, or when the grass is withered and the leaves dried, it consumes all the underwood and rubbish." After selling large areas to the new settlers, the Indians discontinued their annual burning, and a few years brought forth a vigorous growth of bushes and underbrush. The inhabitants along the Connecticut River were greatly annoyed by these bushes that sprung up so plentifully in their home lots and highways, and they obliged every man to work one day in the year clearing such bushes from the highways. The town of Hadley enforced a similar order in 1693.

These conditions also caused the whites in some of the towns to adopt and continue the custom of the annual burnings by the Indians. This destroyed small trees and hindered the growth of large ones. Valuable timber was not so plentiful as some have imagined. The town of Northampton, in 1669, "considering the great difficulty we are in to get firewood," made restrictions about cutting trees. Hatfield voted in 1671 that no man should sell outside the town, any clapboards, shingles or fencing material. Dorchester, Hingham, Cambridge, and many other towns took similar precaution to save the woodlands. From the supplies of

[1] *Sheldon's Hist. Deerfield*, p. 461.

wood given to clergymen, some idea may be gained of the great quantities of wood consumed in the spacious fireplaces. We have no record of the wood supplied to Hope Atherton, the first minister of Hatfield, but to his successor, Mr. Chauncey, were delivered 50 cords annually, and later 60 cords annually. Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton had 75 to 80 loads of wood in a year.[1] Mr. Doolittle (Northfield) had 62 loads of wood—presumably a cord to a load. Wood furnished to the minister of Amherst (this was in 1742 to 1751) ranged from 60 loads to 100 "good loads," and later to 120 "ordinary loads." [2]

Some persons who had no study to warm consumed as much wood as the ministers, or about fifty cords. When Hadley had only one hundred families, the consumption of wood in that one town was not much less than 3000 cords annually.

The labor of providing this quantity of firewood was a large item, and, throughout the year, the daily routine must have been one of long and constant labor, in order to accomplish the necessary tasks. There seems to have been more or less of a community spirit of helpfulness between neighbors, which circumstances made really necessary.

Hatfield.

Can we picture the settlement of Hatfield as it appeared when Hope Atherton came first to see it in 1668-69? It was a place of much natural charm—the great calm river—the broad rich meadows beside it—the level plateaus—the rounded hillsides—the tops of Tom and Toby and Holyoke beyond—peaceful and beautiful in spring and summer and autumn—bleak and white under winter's snow—but withal richly endowed in every season with the beauties of nature.

As for the works of man, in the less than ten years since he had been a settler there, a long broad "street" had been laid out a mile or two in length, and forty rods in breadth, the "home lots" being measured off on either side, and some twenty rude pioneer cabins scattered along these lots, the number of which had increased to fifty by 1677.

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 107.

[2] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 334.

A solid fence eight feet high, formed of vertical logs set tightly together, with two feet of their length imbedded in the ground, and the tops secured together to prevent displacement, this fence extended parallel with the street, at the backs of the houses, for nearly a mile on either side, with the ends fenced across in the same manner, and heavy gates of tight plank, to allow passage in and out. This huge structure called the "palisado" enclosed a rectangular area, and was built only by a large expenditure of material and labor, and solely as a protection from Indian attack. This palisado was far from being a thing of beauty. It was not only ugly in itself, but was a constant reminder of the danger imminent from without.

The houses of the settlers were necessarily crude, half of them were log cabins, the others of hewn timber, covered with boards either sawn by hand in the saw pits, or with "clove boards" split out of straight grained pine. The axe and the saw were the principal, if not the only, tools used in the construction of the house, and could not produce more than a crude building.

The barns and outbuildings were even less finished, and it is doubtful if any trees, large or small, were left standing within or immediately outside the palisado. A tree was an enemy, because it might conceal or shield an enemy. Even the bushes were not permitted to grow. We see, therefore, only the natural contour of the surface, with the rocks, as they had laid for centuries, and the stumps of trees recently cut by the settlers.

All sorts of domestic animals were allowed to roam at will within the palisado—cows, horses, goats, oxen, swine, sheep, and dogs of all sizes made themselves altogether at home, and must have consumed all in sight that remained green. So long as the animals were "yoked" or "branded" and the swine "ringed," to restrain in some measure their natural destructiveness, they were within the law, and could not be impounded.

Probably there were no "kitchen gardens" as we know them today. Sweet corn and potatoes were unknown. The more staple articles of food, as peas, beans, wheat and Indian

corn, were raised in large quantities, in the broad and rich acres outside the palisado.

The natural and irrepressible love of the beautiful in flowers could not, however, be restrained even under these unpromising conditions, and there must have been some spots of loveliness, well fenced from foragers, where woman's heart found joy in tending the flowers of her garden. But her duties were so numerous and pressing, as was true of all other members of the family, that it must have been until after the passing of the first generation of pioneers before much attention could have been given to improvement of general conditions in the village street, and about the houses.

The meeting-house, itself as crude as the houses of the settlers, was set in the middle of the broad street. Grouped about the barns were heavy ox carts, and crude farm implements all made by hand, and almost wholly of wood.

As for the minister's house, it is described as being much superior to any other in the settlement. By a vote of the town, his house was directed to be built "forty foot long and twenty foot wide, double story, and a porch seven feet square below, to be fitted proportionately above the first story, and to lay two floors of joists, throughout the house and in the porch, and to close the house with clapboards, and to board the roof of both, and to cover them with good shingles and to build fire chimneys, and to underpin the house well with stone, and also to lath and fix up the walls of the house, and to set up at each gable end, priamidy and flue boards." [1]

Atherton's home lot was at the south end of Hatfield Street, on its east side, and both he and his successor, Mr. Chauncey, lived here, on what has since been known as the Goodwin lot.

Usually there was no interior finish within the houses, the rough timbering and boards being exposed to view. The windows were closed with shutters. Probably oiled paper or some similar material was used instead of glass, which did not come into general use until after 1700.

Outside the palisado there was the road to the mill, one

[1] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 61.

to the river, and one leading south toward Northampton; and on these outlying roads, some of the settlers' homes were located. There were also broad cultivated fields, and miles of rail fences to keep the cattle within bounds, and occasional open spaces where wood had been cut off. All else was in its natural state.

In this small community, numbering perhaps a hundred souls at the time of Atherton's coming among them, the new minister would soon come to know each individual intimately.

George Sheldon, the historian of Deerfield, has given us a vivid description of conditions in a community like this:— "When the settlers found themselves within the stockade at night with their families unbroken, they put up thanks to the great Ruler for their safety, but they could feel no assurance for the future. The enemy might come tomorrow, next week, next month, and unceasing vigilance was the price of life and liberty. There was no period when the direct and wearing strain was taken off; at no time could they feel that the campaign had ended and the enemy gone into winter quarters. Summer or winter, at morning, noon, or night, year in and year out, the dread shadow was always over them; the cloud never passed by; the sunshine of security never fell upon any man, woman or child outside the fortifications. Every furrow turned, every swing of the axe, every piece of linen laid out on the grass to bleach, every bucket of water brought from the spring, every errand of mercy to the sick, unless within the protection of the palisades, was felt to be, and in reality was, at the imminent risk of life." [1]

Homes which were built near the Bay, in the period of King Philip's war, had their second floors project a foot or two, that their occupants might, if molested, through openings for the purpose, fire upon, or pour hot water on to, their assailants. The houses of Col. Joseph Williams and of John Pierpont, of Roxbury, were of this construction.

Very few houses were painted, even at the close of the eighteenth century, paint being unknown until about 1750.

[1] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 2, p. 405.

The roof may have been of boards or shingles, thatch having been prohibited because of frequent conflagrations.[1]

We find the following in the records of Roxbury, 7 Oct., 1673: "About nine oclock at night the house of Robert Seaver was fired, through the carelessness of the maid, that went up into the chamber to order the cheeses, her light fired the thatch and the house was burnt down, but much of the goods preserved, and also the barn." [2]

She of course had a torch of pitch pine (candlewood), and the dry thatch of the roof was hanging loosely down from the poles, on which it was laid. It would only take an instant of time for the whole under side of the roof to flash into flame. She did well to escape with her life.

Lime was made only from oyster shells until about 1700 and was necessarily very costly. The first limestone discovered in the colony was in Newbury in 1697. Therefore few houses had any interior plastering. Chimneys were at first of logs, the joints being well filled with clay. Stone was occasionally used for chimneys, being more safe from fire.[3]

Buildings everywhere in the various towns were generally of one story until sawmills were built, in the 1650's and 60's. Nails large and small were made by hand on a blacksmith's anvil. Windows were at first square holes in the walls protected by a board shutter, succeeded later by small leaden sash, with little diamond panes of greenish glass, brought from England.

Modern crockery was unknown before 1750. "Trenchers" had been used for plates before that time. Knives and forks were not in use in the colonies in Hope Atherton's time.[4] Trenchers are described as "square pieces of board which served as plates." [5]

In the absence of knives, forks and spoons for table use, many napkins were required, and we find on the inventories of many deceased colonists that there were large numbers of them.

The English Bible was the one book familiar to all, read

[1] *Drake's Roxbury*, p. 58.
[2] *Rox. Rec.*, p. 211.
[3] Nourse, *Lancaster*, p. 57.
[4] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 388.
[5] *Ewell's Story of Byfield*, p. 66.

and studied by every household, till its language became the language of the street, the market, and the place of public assembly, as well as the house of worship, the model of written expression in letters, petitions, and legislative utterances, as well as the basis for sermons. Few books were owned by the settlers, but the Bible was found in every family.[1]

The records show curious examples of the religious belief of the times:—

Roxbury, 1666. "It pleased God to arm the caterpillers against us, which did much damage in our orchards . . . and to exercise the Bay with a severe drought."

"The churches in the Bay sought the Lord by Fasting and Prayer, our church of Roxbury began the 19th June. The Lord gave us rain the next day."

Later:—"It pleased God that our wheat was mildewed and blasted this year also." [2]

Letter dated 1707 by Henry Dering to the selectmen of Boston:—"Humbly offereth to your Serious Consideration—That wheras the Lord in his Merciful Providence, hath Provided this Towne with three Fire Engines," etc.

William Hubbard, of Salem, writes:—"The 29th June, 1676, was set apart as a day of solemn and public thanksgiving, and was ushered in by several special mercies. The saving of the people of Marlborough from being cut off, was very observable, when Mr. Graves, by occasionally going from the sermon with the extremity of the toothache, discovered the Indians ready to assult the town, and the people might have been cut off, had not that accident happened."

It is remarkable that our early pioneers, placed in wholly new country, with no laws, no established authority, even without the traditions of a government in any form worthy of being copied, should have been able to work out a democracy which could so successfully stand the test. Instead of criticizing what is sometimes called their narrowness, and their errors, we should give them highest commendation. From them we inherit civil and religious foundations, incomparably the wisest and best that ancestors ever bequeathed to their posterity. Their management of public

[1] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 143.

[2] *Rox. Rec.*, p. 204.

and private affairs was far in advance of anything before accomplished.

Hatfield was without a minister from the death of Hope Atherton in 1677, until the call to Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey was accepted in 1683. The poverty brought by the war was shown by the fact that a settlement in full for his ministerial service was not given Rev. Hope Atherton's widow until 1679, when Sarah Atherton, in consideration of the sum of forty pounds, declared the obligations discharged. This was three years after Hope Atherton's death. She then moved to Deerfield, and married again in 1681.[1]

Rev. John Russell, Jr., was the first minister in Hadley from 1660 until his death in 1692. He was faithful, hopeful and brave. His chivalrous protection, through long and trying years, of the fugitive judges, Goffe and Whalley, has immortalized his name, and made the old home-lot where he lived, and the town itself, famous in history.[2] He must have been well and intimately known by Hope Atherton, his colleague across the river.

Samuel Mather was a son of Hope Atherton's sister, and was minister of the church at Deerfield, 1673–75, while Atherton was with the church at Hatfield, twelve miles to the south. A tablet in the old brick church in Deerfield bears the inscription shown on opposite page:—

It was said of Hope Atherton that he "was a courageous and willing to expose himself for the public good." Someone has well said:—"It is not necessary to be a descendant of Deerfield to be inspired by the life, death, and principles of its founders." And this is true of many of our old New England towns.

Customs.

Our fathers were essentially a martial people, and the warlike virtues to them a necessity. Military titles were in high repute among them and they were preferred to civil or ecclesiastical honors. A sergeant had attained distinction, and his title was never omitted. A captain was necessarily a man of great influence.

[1] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 102.

[2] *Hist. Conn. Val.*, Vol. 1, p. 334.

In Memory of
Rev. Samuel Mather, M.A.
Pioneer Minister of Deerfield 1673–75.
Born in Dorchester 1650. Graduated Harvard College 1671–
Married Hannah—Daughter of Gov. Robert Treat of Connecticut 1676.
Son of Timothy and Grandson of Rev. Richard Mather, Minister of Toxteth, Eng. and Dorchester, Mass.
Founder of the noted Mather Family of America.
Grandson of General H. Atherton of the Colonial Army & French and Indian Wars.
Cousin of Eunice Mather Williams, Martyr of 1704—"The virtious and desireable Consort of Rev. John Williams" the "Redeemed Captive."
After Bloody Brook Massacre in 1675 the Town was destroyed by Indians and the Church scattered. At the request of the Survivors he waited four years, when, there being no prospect of the resettlement he accepted a call to another Church.
Minister at Windsor, Conn, from 1682 till his Death in 1728.
Chosen by the general consent of the Clergy of Connecticut in 1700, one of the Founders and First Trustees of Yale College.
"Known throughout the Churches of the Colony, whereof he hath been for many years a faithful Pastor, for his piety, gravity & usefulness".—(Cotton Mather)
This Tablet was erected on the 240 Anniversary of the Gathering of the Church.

The title "Mrs." was given to both married and to unmarried women. Men of wealth or education were called "Mr.," but that title was never given to the more common, who might be referred to as "Goodman" and their wives as "Goodwife" or "Goody."

During the last half of the seventeenth century, "stealing the bride" was done in some places in New England. There are many traditions regarding it in the Connecticut Valley. The last bride stolen in Hadley is said to have been Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Smith, who was married to Dr. Job Marsh, in 1783. The custom must have prevailed for a century before. The practice ceased in Northampton several years earlier. Some young men who had not been invited to the wedding would seize the bride, in the street or house, and lead her off, and keep her until they were invited to join the party. A Hadley tradition says that they sometimes took her to a public house, and retained her until the groom ordered an entertainment for them. She was treated gently and kindly. These affairs seemed to have produced no quarrels, but to have been intended as an addition to the wedding frolic.[1]

Early marriages were frequent, some brides being fifteen or sixteen years old. Men and women sat apart in the meeting-house, and the difficulties of secret communications between young men and maids were so great that sometimes courting sticks were in use, the whole family being gathered around the fire.

The practice of partaking of wine, spirits and cake at funerals was brought from England to the American colonies, also the custom of expending large sums for gloves, rings and scarfs. The funeral expenses were often surprisingly large, and must have greatly diminished many estates. In some cases gloves were lavishly given—700 pairs at one funeral, and above 3000 pairs, and 200 rings at the funeral of A. Faneuil in Boston in 1738. The General Court finally interfered by enacting laws prohibiting such extravagances.

There was no hearse in Hadley until 1826. In that town, as in others, the dead were carried on a shoulder bier, some-

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 245.

times for miles. The funeral procession, marshalled by persons bearing staffs, halberts and other badges of authority, clothed in mourning, walked, at the tolling of the bell, to the grave, friends carrying the body on a bier. If the corpse was that of a female the women went first, if a male, the men went first. Returning to the house, entertainment was provided, sometimes quite expensively. Wine, cider and rum were furnished. Even at a pauper's funeral, the customary wine and gloves were provided and paid for by the town. All these customs prevailed for many years.[1] The following notation is made on the back of an old will:— [2]

"Wheras it hath pleased Almighty God in the Way of his holy providence, to Take away our honored father by death, William Sumner, the aged, of Dorchester, this ninth day of Desember in the yeare 1688. The charges of his desente buriall is as followeth—

	£	s.	d.
In primise gloves.....	01.	18.	09
It. in Wine.....	01.	11.	02
It. for the Cofein.....	00.	08.	00
It. for diging the grave.....	00.	04.	00
It. for recording his death.....	00.	04.	00
It. for ringing the bell.....	00.	01.	00
	4.	6.	11"

A writer of that period says:—"At funerals nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood come together at the tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by while he is buried." [3]

There were negro slaves in Hatfield in 1694, and this was true of many other towns throughout the colonies. Mr. Williams (the minister in Hatfield) had several. Rev. Peter Thacher, the minister at Milton, writes regarding one of his slaves, in his diary, May 7, 1679:—"I bought an Indian of Mr. Checkley, and was to pay five pounds a month after I received her."

[1] *Dorchester Day*, p. 19. [2] *N. E. Hist. Reg.*, Vol. 9, p. 302.
[3] *Palfrey N. E.*, Vol. II, p. 43.

Aug. 18, 1679. "Came home from Cambridge, and found my Indian girl had liked to have knocked my Theodora on head, by letting her fall, whereupon I took a good walnut stick, and beat the Indian to purpose." [1]

The following incident is told of the Minot house, Dorchester, which was built about 1640, burned 1874, and was occupied at the time of King Philip's War by John Minot and his family: "One Sunday in July of 1675, the maid servant and two young children were left in the house without protection. An Indian straggler from one of the Philip's bands suddenly appeared and sought to gain entrance. He was promptly discovered by the maid, who hastily put the children under two big brass kettles, and ran upstairs for a musket. The Indian fired his gun, but without effect. The courageous young woman returned the fire with more success, wounding the Indian in the shoulder; and when with a desperate indiscretion he tried to enter through a window, she quickly seized a shovel of hot coals from the open fireplace and threw them in his face. The assailant then beat a retreat, and was afterwards found dead in the woods about five miles away." [2]

English settlers for a century and a half, almost universally, made their morning and evening meal on boiled Indian meal and milk, or on porridge of broth, made of peas or beans, and flavored by being boiled with salted beef or pork. Beer, however, which was brewed every week in the family, was accounted a necessity of life.[3]

"In many houses plates were not to be found at breakfast, and forks were not in general use before 1700, though pewter and wooden spoons were common. People dipped their hands into the platter containing the food, and however unrefined it may appear, there is abundant reason to believe that our forefathers were in the habit of eating with their fingers." [4]

Milk was formerly a much more important part of the food of families, in the early days. In a discussion in the Boston newspapers in 1728 respecting the expense of housekeeping

[1] *Hist. Milton.*
[2] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, Vol. 1, p. 433.
[3] *Palfrey, N. E.*, Vol. II, p. 64.
[4] *History of Northampton*, Vol. 1, p. 286.

in Boston—"of families of middling figure" (*i. e.*, an average income) including ministers—three writers gave all the persons in these families only bread and milk for both breakfast and supper. When milk was scarce, which frequently happened in the winter, cider was substituted, many children being fond of bread and cider. The cider was not very sour, and it was diluted with water, sweetened with molasses, and warmed in a basin, and the bread was toasted.[1]

Industry.

The seventeenth century was the age of home industry. Hatfield had a corn mill, sawmill, and blacksmith shop. All other work was done at home. There were no stores in town, and sugar and salt were the only groceries to be obtained. The Indians taught the settlers to make maple sugar. The spinning wheel, the loom, and the dye pot were in every home. Linsey-woolsey, a mixture of linen and wool, was the commonest fabric. Rope for the harnesses was made at home, as well as the wooden collars for horses and oxen, and the axles of ox carts were also of wood, made by hand, on the farm.[2]

People in general must needs have worn very plain clothing. Every article of dress was home made in every sense of the word. The material was manufactured, and the garments cut and made, by the inmates of the farmhouse.[3]

Candlewood was so named because it was a substitute for candles. It was first used in this country for light by the Indians. Gov. Winthrop in 1662 said that the pine knots and resinous wood were "split into shivers," and burnt instead of candles, giving a good light, and much used in New England, Virginia, and among the Dutch at Manhattan. To avoid the smoke the candlewood was usually burnt in the corner, except sometimes a stick was taken in the hand to go about the house. This torchwood was used by farmers and others in many towns in Massachusetts for 100 to 140 years after Winthrop's description. It was custom-

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 377. [2] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 144.
[3] *History of Northampton*, Vol. 1, p. 292.

ary for the farmers to provide a cart load of candlewood every year.[1]

Wood says:—"Our pine trees, that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians use, having no other; and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices, something thin, which are so full of moisture of turpentine and pitch that they burn as clear as a torch." [2]

John Pynchon of Springfield sent winter-fattened cattle to Boston before 1670, and for many years after. The records of Hatfield show that stall-fed cattle were sent to market in 1696, and that it was not then a new business. The business flourished later for a century or more and is most interestingly described by George Sheldon in his *The Passing of the Stall-fed Ox and the Farm Boy.* Colonel Moses Porter of Hadley went to Boston with fat cattle every year for fifty-one years.

When the English established themselves on the banks of the Connecticut, the river contained, in proper seasons, a great abundance of shad, salmon, bass and other fish. The shad, which were very numerous, were despised by a large portion of the English, for nearly a century, in the old towns up and down the river. It was discreditable, for those who had a competency, to eat shad, and it was equally disreputable to be destitute of salt pork, and the eating of shad implied a deficiency of pork.

A story is told of a Hadley family who were about to dine on shad. Hearing a knock at the door, the platter of shad was immediately hid under a bed. Shad never ascended Bellows Falls nor could they ascend the falls at Chicopee River, but salmon passed up both of these rapids.[3]

Boards had always been sawed by hand in England and never by saw mills, up to the time New England was settled. In the colonies wages of sawyers were regulated by law. In New Haven and elsewhere the "top man," who was on top of the log and guided the work, had a little higher wages

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 302. [2] *Young's Chron. of Mass.*, p. 254.
[3] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 313.

than the "pit man" who was in the saw pit below. Two men were expected to saw about one hundred feet of boards in a day, when the logs were squared and brought to the pit. The early settlers of the colonies built houses, and some commodious ones, before they had the aid of a sawmill. Thomas Meekins had a sawmill on the Mill River in Hatfield about 1669. The first sawmill erected in New England was on a branch of the Piscataqua about 1663. The sawmill on the Neponset between Milton and Dorchester began to operate in 1764.[1]

Farmers removed boulders by building great fires upon them, and then dropping heavy balls of iron on the rocks. The stone for building King's Chapel in Boston was obtained by this method.[2]

Fences came next, after houses and roads, in the necessities of the settlers. There was a large expenditure of labor, in maintaining miles of fences, year by year, to keep the cattle from wandering off the common lands. Each proprietor was required to fence according to the acreage which he held in the common field. The location of his portion of fence, like that of his land, was determined by lot. Gates were placed where a road crossed the common field; and any person who left the gate open after passing through was fined. Gates remained in use on these river roads until after the Revolution.[3]

Almost all the lands in the towns upon Connecticut River were laid out without the aid of a surveyor's compass. The calculations were sufficiently accurate though not exact. The north star was sometimes regarded in establishing important lines. The first regular surveyor with a compass, that resided in any town on the Connecticut, was Caleb Stanley, Jr., of Hartford, who bought a surveyor's compass a few years before 1700. The surveyor's compass was, however, used at Pocumtuck in 1665 by Joshua Fisher of Dedham.[4]

A mill for linseed oil was built at New Haven in 1718, probably the first in New England, and in 1735 one was erected in Hatfield, perhaps the first in Massachusetts.

[1] *Hist. Dor.*, p. 619.
[2] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 3, p. 268.
[3] *Hist. Whately*, p. 17.
[4] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 40.

The oil was used in the making of paint, but there was little demand for it. Probably there was not a building in Northampton or Hadley or surrounding towns which in 1750 had ever been painted.[1] "Very few houses were painted outside as late as 1800." [2]

The early settlers of New England brought over from old England hour glasses and sun dials. It is not known that there was a watch or clock in Hadley in the seventeenth century. The first one of which there is any record was in 1731. Timothy Tucker had a silver watch, given him on his 21st birthday in 1741, which is still in good condition, and must have been a novelty at that time, when he was living in Milton. Most houses had a "noon mark" on the bottom casing of a south window, which showed, by the shadow of sunlight, when the noon hour had arrived.

The gathering of tar and turpentine, from the pine trees in towns along the valley of Connecticut River, was begun in the seventeenth century. The turpentine was sent to Boston to be distilled. In 1696 Hatfield forbade the taking of resin from trees on account of the damage done to them, but the practice was not stopped.[3]

Tobacco was raised by the settlers in Deerfield in 1696. It had long been used by the Indians and also the English settlers. Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the minister of Lancaster, was invited by Sachem Philip to smoke at the time of her captivity, and says "it is a usual compliment now-a-days among saints and sinners." She adds—"though I formerly used tobacco, yet I have left it, since I was first taken captive. I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is." [4]

The Falls Fight.

It is not within the scope of this paper to include any account of the violent events of that Indian War of 1675 and '76, as many historians have given full record to those

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 385.
[2] *Chase's History of Haverhill*, p. 95.
[3] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 126.
[4] *Hist. Whately*, p. 176.

events in faithful detail. We are only interested in the part which Hope Atherton took in the expedition which went out from Hatfield in the evening of the 18th May, 1676.

Captain William Turner, the heroic patriot, whose unselfish devotion to duty never received the recognition which it so well deserved, was long a resident of Dorchester and had served with Humphrey Atherton in various town duties, and so must have been well known to Hope Atherton. The latter must also have known Lieut. Preserved Clapp, another Dorchester man, and probably others whose homes had been at or near the Bay, who took part in this expedition.

Leaving Hatfield after sundown on Thursday, May 18, 1676, the company of one hundred and fifty or more men, mostly mounted, and consisting in part of the settlers of Hatfield and near-by towns, the others being men from the Bay towns detailed for military duty, passed along the narrow trail which led northward, toward the "Great Fall" about twenty miles distant. The company was under command of Capt. William Turner, with Capt. Samuel Holyoke of Springfield next in command. Rev. Hope Atherton accompanied the troops as chaplain, and the guides were Benjamin Waite and Experience Hinsdale—both of Hatfield. In the darkness of night, they pushed on by the scenes of the Swamp Fight,[1] the Bloody Brook Massacre,[2] and the burned and abandoned settlement of Deerfield.[3]

A heavy thunderstorm came on in the night, which wet them through, and in the darkness they missed the ford at Cheapside, and crossed the Pocumtuck at a point somewhat farther up that stream. This was fortunate as there was an Indian guard at Cheapside ford. Fording next the Green River they passed on, and reached the Indian camp on the bank of the Connecticut before break of day. The camp was unguarded and quiet, there was no sound but the roar of the cataract.[4]

A very early description of these falls is found in Peter's *History of Connecticut*, as follows:—"In Connecticut River, about 200 miles from Long Island Sound, is a narrow, of five

[1] Aug. 23, 1675.
[2] Sept. 18, 1675.
[3] Sept., 1675.
[4] *N. E. Hist. Reg.*, Vol. 41, p. 207.

yards only, formed by two shelving mountains of solid rock. Through this chasm are compelled to pass all the waters which in the time of floods, bury the northern country. It is a frightful passage of about 400 yards in length. No boat, no living creature, was ever known to pass through this narrow, except an Indian woman. This woman had undertaken to cross the river just above, having in the canoe a jug of rum, which she intended to convey to the opposite shore. But the canoe was drawn into the swift currrent, and carried down the frightful gulf. While the squaw was thus hurrying to certain destruction, as she had every reason to believe, she seized upon her jug of rum, and did not take it from her mouth until the last drop was quaffed. She was marvellously preserved from death, and was actually picked up, several miles below, still floating in the canoe, and quite drunk. When it was known what she had done, and being asked how she dared to drink so much rum, with the prospect of certain death before her, she answered that she knew it was too much for one time, but she was unwilling that any of it should be lost."

The story of the attack of the settlers on the sleeping Indian camp is familiar, but the following brief account, written by Rev. William Hubbard of Salem, within a year after the event, is of interest:—

"When they came within the Indian rendezvouze, they allighted off their horses, and tyed them to some strong young trees, at a quarter of a mile distance. So marching up they fired Amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the Place, and frighting others with the sudden Alarm of their Guns, and made them run into the River, where the Swiftness of the Stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the waters, some getting into their small Boats made of the bark of the birchen Trees, which, being sunk, or overset, by the Shooting of our men, delivered them into the like Danger of the Waters, giving them therby a Passport into the Other World; others of them creeping for Shelter under the Banks of the Great River, were espyed by our men, and killed by their swords, Capt. Holioke killing five, young and old with his own hands, from under a bank."

The Pocumtuck tribe suffered the loss of many of their best men in this day's fighting. Their power was broken forever, and this event virtually marks the end of this ancient and powerful tribe, whose name is perpetuated in this beautiful valley, and by this Association.

The day had, however, a disastrous ending which is also familiar to you. There were Indians on the opposite side of the river and on an island below the falls. They crossed and unexpectedly attacked the troops, as they were about to mount for their return home.

The English became much scattered in the retreat, many not knowing the way, and becoming lost in the woods. Captain Turner was killed at Green River, and thirty-eight English slain, all but one being killed on the retreat.

Captain Holyoke took command when Turner fell. He was only twenty-eight years old, but, like Hope Atherton, the stress of that campaign broke his health and he died before the next winter. Neither he nor Atherton was wounded. A few of the men wandered about for two or three days. Jonathan Wells of Hadley was wounded, and after much suffering reached Hatfield on Sunday. Rev. Hope Atherton, after roving here and there without food, returned at noon on Monday.

There is a disagreement in the records as to whether Hope Atherton came into Hadley or Hatfield. A letter signed by Aaron Cook and others, to the authorities at Hartford, states clearly that he came into Hadley at about noon on Monday.[1] This statement seems improbable. If he did so do he must have crossed the Connecticut River, which was both unnecessary and difficult. The next Sunday, May 28, he said in his sermon:—"In the hurry and confusion of the retreat I was separated from the army. The night following, I wandered up and down, but none discovered me. The next day I tendered myself to the enemy as a prisoner, but, notwithstanding I offered myself to them, they accepted not my offer. When I spoke they answered not; when I moved toward them they fled. Finding that they would not accept me as a prisoner, I determined to take the course of the river,

[1] *Judd's Hadley*, p. 173.

and if possible find my way home; and after several days of hunger, fatigue, and danger I reached Hatfield."

After his sermon, on the same day, he read a written statement, giving more completely his experiences before reaching his home, as follows:—

"Hope Atherton desires this congregation and all people that shall hear of the Lord's dealings with him to praise and give thanks to God for a series of remarkable deliverances wrought for him. The passages of divine providence (being considered together) make up a complete temporal salvation. I have passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and both the rod and staff of God delivered me. A particular relation of extreme sufferings that I have undergone, & signal escapes that the Lord hath made way for, I make openly, that glory may be given to him for his works that have been wonderful in themselves and marvelous in mine eyes, & will be so in the eyes of all whose hearts are prepared to believe what I shall relate. On the morning (May 19, 1676) that followed the night in which I went out against the enemy with others, I was in eminent danger through an instrument of death: a gun was discharged against me at a small distance, the Lord diverted the bullet so that no harm was done me. When I was separated from the army, none pursued after me, as if God had given the heathen a charge, saying, let him alone he shall have his life for a prey. The night following I wandered up and down among the dwelling places of our enemies; but none of them espied me. Sleep fell upon their eyes, and slumbering upon their eyelids. Their dogs moved not their tongues. The next day I was encompassed with enemies, unto whom I tendered myself a captive. The Providence of God seemed to require me so to do. No way appeared to escape, and I had been a long time without food. They accepted not the tender which I made, when I spake, they answered not, when I moved toward them they moved away from me. I expected they would have laid hands upon me, but they did not. Understanding that this seems strange and incredible unto some, I have considered whether I was not deceived; and after consideration

of all things, I cannot find sufficient grounds to alter my thoughts. If any have reason to judge otherwise than myself, who am less than the least in the Kingdom of God, I desire them to intimate what their reason is. When I have mused, that which hath cast my thoughts according to the report I first made, is that it tends to the Glory of God, in no small measure; if it were so as I believe it was, that I was encompassed with cruel and unmerciful enemies; & they were restrained by the hand of God from doing the least injury to me. This evidenceth that the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, & doeth whatever pleaseth him amongst them. Enemies cannot do what they will, but are subservient to over-ruling providence of God. God always can and sometimes doth set bounds unto the wrath of man. On the same day, which was the last day of the week not long before the sun did set, I declared with submission that I would go to the Indian habitations. I spoke such language as I thought they understood. Accordingly I endeavored; but God, whose thoughts were higher than my thoughts, prevented me, by his good providence I was carried beside the path I entered to walk in, & brought to the side of the great river, which was a good guide unto me. The most observable passage of providence was on the Sabbath day morning. Having entered upon a plain, I saw two or three spies, who I (at first) thought they had a glance upon me. Wherefore I turned aside and lay down. They climbed up into a tree to spie. Then my soul secretly begged of God, that he would put in into their hearts to go away. I waited patiently and it was not long ere they went away. Then I took that course which I thought best according to the wisdom that God had given me.

"Two things I must not pass over that are matter of thanksgiving unto God; the first is that when my strength was far spent, I passed through deep waters & they overflowed me not, according to those gracious words of Isa. 43, 2; the second is that I subsisted the space of three days & part of the fourth without ordinary food. I thought upon those words 'Man liveth not by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord.' I think not too much to say,

that should you & I be silent & not set forth the praises of God thro' Jesus Christ, that the stones and beams of our houses would sing hallelujah. I am not conscious to myself that I have exceeded in speech. If I have spoken beyond what is convenient, I know it not. I leave these lines as an orphan, and shall rejoice to hear that it finds foster Fathers & Mothers. However it fare amongst men, yet if it find acceptance with God thro' Christ Jesus, I shall have cause to be abundantly satisfied. God's providence hath been so wonderful towards me, not because I have more wisdom than others (Danl. 2, 30) nor because I am more righteous than others; but because it so pleased God.

H. A.

Hatfield, May 24th, 1676." [1]

The truth of his account is confirmed by the statement of Jonathan Wells, that the Indians told him that after the Falls fight, a man with a black coat, and without a hat, came toward them, but they were afraid and ran away, thinking it was the Englishmen's God.[2]

A few days later, on Tuesday, May 30, the Indians sought to take revenge for their losses, by making violent attack with seven hundred warriors on the settlement of Hatfield. Twelve houses and a barn were burned, and most of the sheep driven away. To Hope Atherton, after the terrible physical and nervous ordeal of the previous week, this attack, with all its frightful details, must have been a severe shock. Though he lived for more than a year, he never recovered, gradually the end came on, and he died June 8, 1677.

A deed, signed Aug. 13, 1687, by five Indian chiefs, each with a long and unpronounceable name, conveyed lands in the vicinity of Northfield, and was witnessed by Joseph Atherton (only living son of Hope) and Lt. Preserved Clapp, who was of the old Dorchester family. Joseph Atherton was then thirteen years old.[3]

We find that Joseph Atherton became a permanent settler in Deerfield, and was part owner, in 1713, of lot No. 39 on the old Street; was selectman in 1715; and that both he and

[1] *Sheldon's Hist. Deerfield*, pp. 166–8. [2] *Wells' Hatfield*, p. 86.
[3] *Proceedings P. V. M. A.*, Vol. 3, p. 392.

his wife were still members of the Deerfield church in 1733.[1] He died in 1753, and we find his heirs in 1760 are allotted one hundred and sixty-seven acres of certain Deerfield lands, which were then being divided among the proprietors of Old Deerfield.

Sixty years after the Falls fight, in 1743, a grant was made by the General Court of a township of land, as near as might be to the scene of the fight, to all that were engaged therein. The list of survivors and descendants, who were then entitled to receive apportionment of this tract of more than six miles square, includes the name of "Joseph Atherton of Deerfield, only son of Hope Atherton." This township, first known as Fall town, later became part of Bernardston, and a writer in 1891 tells us that the name of Atherton was then a familiar one in that region." [2]

Shubal Atherton, grandson of Hope, was living in 1774 on his farm situated on the Green River, about half a mile south of the spot where Eunice Williams was killed. He and his two neighbors had their houses enclosed by palisadoes. But these were not sufficient to save them, and on Aug. 23, 1756, the last band of marauding Indians to attack in Hampshire county came down upon them, and all three of these mėn gave their lives in defense of their homes.

And so ends this story of Hope Atherton and his times; meagre enough as to details of his own experiences, because of the loss of the records of Hatfield covering almost the entire period of his ministry. But we can feel assured, though life was cut short in the time of his early manhood, that he had stood faithful to life's tasks as they came to him year by year.

And if the story, which it has been attempted here to tell, of the privations which the early settlers were obliged to face, the fortitude and courage which they so often proved, the sufferings they bore, and the measure of success to which they attained, in the planting of a new commonwealth, shall lead us to a higher appreciation of their virtues, and a larger determination to stand true in the performance of duty, in our own day, then the attempt will not have been in vain.

[1] Deerfield Church Records. [2] *N. E. Hist. Reg.*, Vol. 41, p. 211.

THE EARLY DAYS OF TURNERS FALLS.

BY CHARLES W. HAZELTON.

It is to be understood that the words used as a title to this paper, "The Early Days of Turners Falls" refer to the early days of the present village of Turners Falls. The earlier, and the very early days, the days of King Philip, Capt. Turner, Elisha Mack and Timothy Dewey's grandfather, have been so fully written up as a part of the history of the Connecticut Valley, that to say much along those lines would be a needless repetition. But as a foundation for the story that we are to tell, it will be necessary to take in, or begin with to some extent, the days of the early navigation of the Connecticut River, because that period is the real beginning of the village of Turners Falls.

A few years ago, perhaps forty or fifty, if anyone in Boston or any other place distant from Turners Falls, at any place other than a railroad ticket office, should speak about going to or coming from Turners Falls, the first question asked would be "Where is Turners Falls?" The proper answer to such a question was to say, "It is in the western part of Massachusetts, in the Connecticut Valley, near Greenfield, 36 miles north of Springfield, and 20 miles above Northampton." Now what I am going to say in this paper is in part to answer these three questions, "Where," "Why," and "What, is the village of Turners Falls?"

A certain woman after making a tour of observation of New England generally, on her return was asked what features of special interest she had observed. She said that one in particular that she noticed was that practically all of the large towns of New England were located on a river. This, as we can understand, is a natural result of a natural situation.

Henry W. Erving, of Hartford, Connecticut, in a very interesting book recently published by the Connecticut River Banking Company of Hartford, a financial institution formed

in 1825 to assist in the development of navigation of the Connecticut River, and which has just observed its one hundredth birthday, says, "The means and methods of travel and transportation are a prerequisite of civilization." For many years all north and south travel and transportation of merchandise in the Connecticut Valley, was limited to Indian canoes and trails, which later were made passable for pack horses, and which in turn as actual roads began to appear, were succeeded by ox-teams and two- and four-horse wagons. Then by canals to make navigation of the river more feasible, which in due time were superseded by railroads and it appears by recorded history, that every move made to improve these means of travel and transportation from the canoe and trail, to the automobile and auto-truck, has been met with determined opposition.

For over 200 years the Connecticut River was the main artery of travel and transportation between the towns and cities of the coast and nearly all the territory embraced by its watershed in Vermont, New Hampshire and western Massachusetts.

Apparently to Adrian Block, a native of Holland, belongs the credit of discovering the Connecticut River, he having come to Manhattan from Holland in 1612, and in 1614 was the first white man to sail up the river from Long Island Sound to the foot of Enfield Falls, about fifteen miles north of Hartford.

William Pynchon was the first man to establish navigation on the river above Hartford, which at that time was called the head of sloop navigation, though in fact the point now called Warehouse Point was actually the head, that being at the foot of Enfield Falls, where in 1636, Mr. Pynchon built a warehouse where merchandise coming up the river was stored and transferred to smaller boats and ox-teams, to be brought to Springfield, then called Agawam.

From Warehouse Point, boats of a lighter draft were used, and with a fair run of water and a favorable wind, they were poled by what was called the "white-ash breeze" up the rapids, and in that way navigation was brought to Spring-

field, or rather, to the foot of the rapids at South Hadley Falls.

Records show that in the spring of 1638 a fleet of fifty canoes, filled with corn and manned by friendly Indians from Deerfield, went down the river to the lower towns that were impoverished by a scant harvest, following the Pequot war.

The Enfield Dam and the locks and canal at Windsor Locks, on the other side of the river from Warehouse Point, were built in 1824. The locks and canal on the South Hadley side were built and opened in 1795. The Turners Falls locks and canal were opened for business in 1798 and at Bellows Falls in 1802.

We have been talking so far in regard to the navigation of the Connecticut River, but that is only one of the attractive features of the Connecticut Valley, for aside from the material use made of the river, the valley itself has its use as a natural object of enjoyment; and as expressing my own opinion of its natural beauty I am going to give you a tradition that has come to my notice and which may now be applied for that purpose.

The tradition is that when this world was first created, it was left in an unfinished condition, and later the Maker directed his attention to putting the finishing touches to that part now called "The Old World," first. After that he turned his attention to the Western Hemisphere, and in due time came to that part called "New England," and to that particular part of New England called "Massachusetts." Before beginning his work here, one of the angels said to him, "Master, let me try my hand at finishing this part of your work." The Master said, "Very well, here is a part that in due time is to be called 'Massachusetts,' and here is some of the finishing material such as has been used elsewhere." The angel took charge of the work, beginning with the eastern part of the territory. When she arrived at the western part she said to the Master, "Master, in doing my work to this point, I have used up all the material that you gave me." The Master said, "You have done well so far; but in this section that you are to work on now, between

these hills, in due time a river will run, that will be called the Connecticut River, and this will be called the Connecticut Valley. Here is some of the material similar to that used in finishing Paradise; now go on with your work." If in the minds of any there is doubt as to the truth of this tradition, some day when out for a drive, and you are going through Northfield village, when you reach the top of the hill at the northerly end of the street, near the D. L. Moody homestead, stop for a moment, and if it is a clear day, look up the river towards Hinsdale and Brattleboro; or if on the other side of the river, at Mount Hermon, stop near the chapel and gymnasium and take in the southerly view of the valley from that point.

As has already been mentioned, the locks and canals at Turners Falls were opened in 1798, and for the next forty or fifty years, a very prosperous business was carried on, but in 1846, when the Connecticut River Railroad was built to Greenfield, and began the transportation of travel and merchandise, the business of the canal very rapidly diminished, until soon it did not pay for its operation, the last boat going through the locks in 1856. From that time until 1865, the old canal was going to decay as to its locks and the dam, and the canal bed was growing up to brush.

We now come to a consideration of the inception and promotion of the village of Turners Falls, and also to learn something of the promoter, who was Colonel Alvah Crocker, of Fitchburg; a man who had been a leading spirit and power in the development first of his own town, Fitchburg, and the building of the Fitchburg Railroad from Boston to Fitchburg, being its first president, and then the first president and active spirit in the building of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad, from Fitchburg to Greenfield.

By reason of his interest in the development of transportation facilities through Western Massachusetts, looking eventually to a through line to the west, he became interested in the construction of the Hoosac Tunnel and was made a commissioner representing the State of Massachusetts to prosecute that work. In that way he became acquainted with Wendell T. Davis of Greenfield, who had been for a

number of years the secretary and treasurer of the old Locks and Canal Company.

On account of the loss of its business, the canal property had become practically worthless, but its organization had been maintained. Col. Crocker, through his knowledge of the development of water power already made at Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke, realized the possibilities and value of a similar development at Turners Falls. He, therefore, through Mr. Davis, secured control of the stock of the old corporation, and proceeded to change the name and organize "The Turners Falls Company." In this enterprise, to show the strength of support both financial and moral that he had, through stockholders of the new organization, I want to give you the names of some of the original stockholders of the Turners Falls Company.

Besides Col. Crocker in Fitchburg, he had with him among others, Geo. F. Fay, Gardner S. Burbank, Rodney Wallace, and Otis T. Ruggles. In Lowell, he had Benj. F. Butler, J. C. Ayer, and Geo. W. Nesmith. In addition to those he had Moses Stevens of Andover, Chas. A. Stevens of Ware, Thos. Talbot of Billerica, Alex. H. Rice of Boston, Oliver Ames and Oaks A. Ames of North Easton; also Edwin Bulkley and Wm. C. Dunton, of New York. A little later he had B. N. Farren and R. N. Oakman of Montague.

Of these names, four of the men, Benj. F. Butler, Thomas Talbot, Alexander H. Rice, and Oliver Ames, later were governors of the State of Massachusetts.

In 1866, after the company had by act of the Legislature been relieved of the obligation to maintain the canal for navigation purposes and was empowered to build and maintain a dam and canal, and lease and sell the use of water for power purposes, they began the construction of the dam and headgates.

This dam was the fourth to be built in practically its present location, since 1793. Timothy M. Stoughton, born in 1818, and for 90 years a resident of Riverside, said to me that he had seen three dams either carried out or seriously injured by ice freshets before this dam of 1866 was built. The engineer for the construction of the dam of 1866 was

Charles Francis, a son of James B. Francis, the engineer of the Locks and Canal Company at Lowell, and a noted authority on hydraulics, but after the construction of the dam, it was decided that a change should be made in the engineer.

Col. Crocker had a brother, who at that time was engaged in the practice of civil engineering at Laconia, in the State of New Hampshire, and in September of 1867, this brother, William P. Crocker, was employed as engineer to go on with the work of developing Turners Falls, and it was with him, as a boy just starting in to learn surveying and engineering, that I came to Turners Falls, on the 18th day of September of that year, although he had preceded me by a day or two in his arrival.

On my arrival at Greenfield I was met at the station by George W. Potter, who at that time, and for some years previous, had acted as agent for the Locks and Canal Company in the care of some of its property, and during the construction of the dam of 1866 acted as purchasing agent. Mr. Potter brought me to Turners Falls by the way of the old toll bridge at Montague City, and left me at the Old Hotel, so-called, which, as a matter of fact, was not a hotel at all, but had previously been the residence of the Superintendent of the Locks and Canal of the old company, and later had been used as a boarding house for the men employed in the construction of the new dam.

The proprietress of the Old Hotel was Mrs. Susan Lebourveau. There was a Mr. Lebourveau, Louis by name, but he was not very much in evidence. Both were very much along in years. The principal experience in the early life of Louis that he liked to refer to, was the time when he drove the stage from Keene to Brattleboro. He was a very methodical man. In the main living room there was a large fireplace, and at the left-hand side Louis had his regular seat. The last thing that he did before going upstairs to bed was to put his hat on the mantle over the fireplace. The first thing he did after coming down was to put on his hat, then light his pipe, then put on his shoes, then start the fire in the kitchen stove.

Mrs. Lebourveau was a most excellent cook, and by rea-

son of her skill in that line, did quite a business in transient meals. She sometimes expressed considerable feeling when Geo. W. Potter put butter on the pie-crust.

The next morning on looking the place over, in addition to the Old Hotel and the Lock-tender's house near the dam, with Samuel D. Emery as a guide, I found the Goss tenement house, the Goddard and Taft houses up near the ferry, a small house standing near where the Schuler block now stands and one other house on the old road to Montague City near where the Griswold tenement block now stands, temporarily occupied by John Dunbar and family. This was the situation at the beginning of the early days of the present village of Turners Falls.

Mr. Crocker, the engineer, at once began his work of laying out the proposed new canal, which, to a great extent, followed the line of the old one—also to formulate ideas and lay out streets for a village. That was our work during that fall and winter. The first plan of the same was made during the winter of 1867 and '68, and was entitled "Plan of the projected city at Turners Falls, Massachusetts. By Wm. P. Crocker, Civil Engineer. Dated 1868."

Early the next summer, after the plans for the canal and village had been accepted by the company, preparations were made for the beginning of work on the canal, and the selling of building lots for the village.

The office of the Company at that time was in a small, old building, located where the present hotel building, formerly the Farren House, stands, that at one time had been used for a schoolhouse, there having been several children in this district when the navigation canal was in operation; but at this time both school and schoolhouse had been abandoned.

I well remember the day when Col. Crocker and B. N. Farren, who had just finished the work of constructing the Troy and Greenfield Railroad, from Greenfield to Hoosac Tunnel, came into the office, after looking over the proposed plan and location for the new canal; and Col. Crocker said to Mr. Farren, "Mr. Farren, make your price for doing this work." Mr. Farren made the prices for various classes of

the work to be done. Col. Crocker said, "Begin the work tomorrow." That is all the contract that was made for the beginning of developing water power at Turners Falls.

The first auction sale of building lots was held in September of that year, 1868. The sale had been widely advertised as the beginning of the building of a manufacturing city, and a large crowd had gathered. The first lots sold were on Third Street, midway between Ave. A and L Street. Just as the auctioneer was to begin operations Col. Crocker said, "I want to say a few words to the gentlemen that are gathered here. We are now going to begin an enterprise that is to have large results. Whoever buys a building lot here today will get large return for his money. We have just made arrangements for the transfer of the Green River Cutlery Works from Greenfield to Turners Falls, and we are about to begin the construction of a cutlery plant that will employ 1200 people who will come here to live and help build up the place. We are also to begin the construction of a pulp mill, which will be followed by a paper mill, and within a few years you will see here a second Holyoke."

One, and the principal reason for the slow and gradual growth and development of Turners Falls, as compared with Holyoke, was that Holyoke was well started before the beginning of the war of 1861, and during those war years, by reason of the demand for war goods, at war prices, great headway was made in the manufacturing interests and development of that place. Turners Falls was started at the close of the war—at the beginning of the period of deflation, with the consequent depression of general business interests, which culminated in the Jay Cook financial panic of 1874.

A second auction sale of lots was held the following year, but in the meantime construction of the cutlery works and of the pulp mill was going on, and dwelling houses were being built.

In carrying out the plans for a development of the place, one of the first things to be considered was how to get a railroad in—the next to establish a Post Office, then build a Hotel, then start a Bank. In the meantime a schoolhouse

was being built, two churches were started, and following those, was the establishment of a printing office with a newspaper, then a fire department, a water supply and the settling of a doctor and a lawyer.

Several different surveys were made for a railroad; first, from Millers Falls, then from a point down near Montague Town, but finally, on the advice of Alfred R. Field, an engineer who had been connected with the construction of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad, the present location was adopted, and the branch railroad from Greenfield was built in 1869, B. N. Farren having the contract and Aaron Wright of Greenfield building the bridge at Montague City, which was under construction at the time of the 1869 flood, the water at that time coming to within about two feet of the lower chord of the structure; and for 24 hours it was a question with the builder and others, whether or not the bridge would stand the strain; but it did.

At the time of the construction of the dam, and for some years afterwards, the Post Office was at Montague City, in the store of R. L. Goss, he being the Postmaster. During the construction of the dam he had opened a branch store at Turners Falls, in the basement of a large building built by Geo. A. Andrews of Montague City, located near the present end of the pulp block on First Street, for the use by some of the help that were working on the dam, as tenements. The branch store was run by a young man named Frank W. Rugg, now living at Montague City. Our mail for two years was brought up by said Frank W. Rugg, in his pocket. This building is the one now standing on L Street, near Second, sometimes called "The Battery."

In 1874 a petition was presented for a Post Office for Turners Falls, and Benj. W. Mayo, who had been in the employ of R. L. Goss, was appointed Postmaster, and the office was in a wooden building standing at the corner of Ave. A and Third Street but which was burned in 1876. Early in 1872 the need for a hotel was apparent, and Mr. Farren said that he would build one, so the Farren Hotel Company was incorporated and the present hotel block was built, the ground floor to be used as stores and a bank and

the upper part as a hotel. The first proprietor was Col. N. P. Brower, from Pennsylvania. He was succeeded in a short time by Geo. T. C. Holden, who ran the hotel for a number of years, or until he took over the management of the Mansion House in Greenfield.

The next institutions established were the banks: The National Bank and the Savings Institution, Col. Crocker being president of both. R. N. Oakman, Jr., was the first Cashier of the National Bank, also Treasurer of the Savings Institution. Both banks were located in the part of the hotel block now occupied by the town offices.

During the winter of '67 and '68 a school was run in the basement room of the brick house owned by the Goddard estate, located near the upper suspension bridge. The number of pupils was twelve—the teacher was Miss Susan Rowe, daughter of George Rowe of Montague, and granddaughter of the Susan before referred to.

Just as a matter of comparison, today in the village, including Montague City, there are eight school buildings, forty teachers, about fifteen hundred pupils, including the parochial school, and the annual appropriation to pay for the same is about $150,000.

The first schoolhouse built was the wooden building now standing on the alley between Second and Third Streets, and owned and used by the Society of Hermann's Sons. The Oakman Schoolhouse was rebuilt in 1874, the first building having been destroyed by fire.

The first church was built by the Catholics, a one-story wooden building, painted white, located on L Street, in the rear of the present rectory. The next was the Methodist Church on Fifth Street. The Baptist Church on Prospect Street was built in 1872, and the German Church on K Street, in 1874.

So far as I have any knowledge, the first religious service held in the village, and which I attended, was held in a boarding shanty kept by Mrs. Julia Horrigan for men employed in the construction of the Canal located near the River Bank, where the Griswold Cotton Mill now stands, Father Robinson coming over from Greenfield, and saying Mass

there at ten o'clock one Sunday morning in the fall of 1868, soon after the work on the Canal was started.

A fire department was organized in 1871. The first Chief Engineer was Nathaniel Gilmore, who came to Turners Falls from Bellows Falls, and had charge of the work in the foundry of the Clark & Chapman Machine Co. The first piece of apparatus was a secondhand steamer, bought of the City of Fitchburg, and named "Alvah Crocker." The first water supply of the village was furnished by the Turners Falls Company through an aqueduct system supplying water pumped from the river.

The houses built on the upper level of the place, however, could not be supplied in that way. They had to depend on cisterns filled with rainwater from the roof. A permanent and complete supply was introduced from Lake Pleasant in 1886.

The people of the village including Montague City had been "doctored" so far by Drs. Deane, Walker and Fiske of Greenfield, but in 1871 Dr. Erastus C. Coy came from Worthington, Mass., and for many years was the well-beloved friend and family physician of many.

Our first lawyer was George L. Barton, son of Benjamin B. Barton of Riverside, a most estimable young man and a very promising member of the Franklin County Bar; his death soon after moving into his new house on Prospect Street was a great loss to the whole community. He was succeeded by William S. Dana.

It may be of interest to the geologists to know that after the Montague Paper Company had started, and was in need of additional water supply, John D. Farwell, who had been driving oil wells at Titusville, Pa., was called to Turners Falls by Geo. E. Marshall to try for water under the bed of the river, back of the mill. He drilled a 6-inch well through the rock, 900 feet deep, but without results as to water. The paper company then secured the right to take the water of Fall River, at Factory Hollow. A 24-inch pipe was laid across and under the river, and that is the supply at the present time.

In this connection it may be of a little interest to record

how Lake Pleasant received its name. Heretofore it had been known as "Great Pond." One day in the fall of 1868, when we were at dinner at the Old Hotel, Geo. W. Potter came in, bringing with him a man whom he introduced as Charles H. Comee, Asst. Supt. of the Vermont & Mass. R. R. They sat down and had dinner with us. In due time Mr. Potter said that he and Mr. Comee had been looking around for a place for the railroad company to develop as a picnic ground. They had been over looking at Great Pond, and had decided that that was the place to develop. They had also decided to name it Pleasant Lake. The grounds were developed as picnic grounds and for many years it was very popular as a place for excursions and camp meetings. The name, however, when advertised, was changed to Lake Pleasant.

The lower suspension bridge was built in 1871 and finished in the spring of 1872. The upper suspension bridge was built in 1878, and it may be of interest to know that two colored men by the name of Dorsey, from Northampton, had charge of putting in the foundation and erecting the superstructure.

The Old Hotel was burned in 1874, being occupied at that time by Charles P. Bardwell and family.

The largest fire the place has experienced was the burning of the Keith Mill, in November, 1877.

The New Haven and Northampton Railroad was built into Turners Falls in 1881 and for a short time we had a through train with parlor-car attachment, from Turners Falls direct to New York City.

The year 1872 was the beginning of the principal building operations and business enterprises of the village. The Farren House block was one of the principal buildings put up that year, in which were located the banks, the hardware store of Braddock & Peabody, the drug store of W. W. Hosmer, a graduate of the old store of Howland & Lowell in Greenfield, and the clothing store of Barrett & Allen. The Schuler Block, on the corner of Ave. A and Second Street, was built that year by Wm. Schuler, who came over from Greenfield.

The *Turners Falls Reporter* was also started that year by Addington D. Welch. On January 1, 1873, was held the "Founders Ball," and in the list of names published at that time as founders, the only ones known to be now living are William D. Russell of Greenfield and Converse Ward of Athol. This year saw Starbuck's Block on Avenue A and Clapp's Block at the corner of Avenue A and 7th Street built. Also the Keith Mill began operations.

In 1874 Maria Colle built the block at the corner of Avenue A and Third Street, now known as the Opera House. It also saw a telegraph office installed in the hotel with Mrs. G. T. C. Holden as the first operator. At this time Cecil T. Bagnall took over the publishing of the *Turners Falls Reporter*, which has recently been merged with the *Greenfield Recorder*. It also saw D. P. Abercrombie, Sr., installed as cashier of the National Bank and Treasurer of the Savings Bank.

The Rist block on the corner of Avenue A and 4th Street, also the Bartlett block on the corner of Avenue A and 5th Street, were built in 1879.

The brick block on the corner of Avenue A and 3d Street was built in 1878 by Dwight Kellogg of Amherst.

The population of Turners Falls is very much mixed as to nationalities, and it is of a little interest to learn why this is so. The first or pioneer settlers of the village were men from Maine, largely from the vicinity of Fairfield on the Kennebec River, who came here to work on the dam, they being experienced lumber men and dam builders. Among these were the names of Emery, Richardson, Dunbar, Gerald and Ricker. These men settled, built their homes and raised their families here.

The next settlers were the French, who came here as experienced rock men, as all rock drilling was done by hand at that time, and the excavation of the canal was largely rock. They were headed by Peter McClure, who built the small house now standing on L Street, between Second and Third. Among these were the names of La Pointe, La Porte, Ducharme, Desautelles, Nadeau, Vivier, Derjie, Lapean and Moreau.

The next settlers were the Irish, who also came largely from the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel work of Mr. Farren, coming as stone masons, bricklayers and laborers, and among these were the names of Thomas, Cunningham, Donovan, Powers, Costello, Murphy, Burke, O'Leary, O'Neil, O'Connell, O'Brien, Sullivan, Shanahan, McAllister and Welch.

At this time also came John C. Short, the expert bricklayer, together with John W. Morrison, later the faithful police officer, and his son, S. R. Morrison.

The next were the Yankees, coming from Conway and Ashfield as carpenters at the time of the building of the cutlery works, and among these were Geo. O. Peabody, Ora C. Hitchcock, Wm. R. Farnsworth and Chester O. Tyler.

The next were the Germans, who came over from Greenfield on account of the moving of the cutlery works and the building of the pulp mill, buying lots and building homes, largely on Second Street. Among these were the names of Sauter, Jacobus, Yetter, Eppler, Milkey, March, Seiler, Haigis and Strehle.

Next came the English, as expert paper makers, and among these were the Howards, Jacksons, Reaveleys and Smiths.

Later to quite an extent Bohemians came in as cutlery workers, followed in due time by Lithuanians and Poles, the latter principally as farmers.

Notwithstanding, however, the fact that the population is of a mixed nature, it is a case of "In Union there is Strength," for the standard of the people as a whole as to ability, physically, mentally and morally, is high, and as citizens of the town and the country, their allegiance and loyalty to the United States is as firm and reliable as any could be and to judge by the progress made in the schools, by the second and third generations, as well as the record of the honors and prizes won, it is possible that some who boast that their ancestors came over first-class in the Mayflower may be matched if not overtaken by some whose parents, and grandparents, came over more recently in the steerage of a White Star Liner.

To Mr. B. N. Farren, more than anyone else locally, credit is due for the early material development of the village, and who at the time of the construction of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad was the most popular man in Western Massachusetts. In many ways he was a remarkable man and had a great many friends. He made a specialty of being good to the poor, but also he was a strict disciplinarian and at times a hard master. It was my privilege before beginning to keep house for myself, to have been a member of his family for nearly seven years, and I very well know that the building of the hospital in Montague City, to a great extent, is an expression of his appreciation of the friendly treatment received by him from the people of Franklin county during those early years.

He was born in Elizabethtown, Pa., of Irish parentage. His father, in a moderate way, was a contractor for canal work in that State, and the son, early in life, took up that line of work, giving especial attention to tunnel work on the Pennsylvania Railroad, between Altoona and Pittsburgh, and it was on account of his high reputation for ability as a tunnel man that Col. Crocker had him come to Massachusetts to assist in the building of the Hoosac Tunnel.

He was generally known and spoken of as "Barney Farren." Very few knew what his first name was.

There is a man living in Greenfield today by the name of B. F. Waite. He is a son of Henry Waite, who was the son of David Waite, who formerly lived on the Waite farm at Cheapside. During the construction of the Troy and Greenfield R. R., Henry Waite worked for Mr. Farren as a foreman. One morning when Mr. Farren was going over the work, and came to Mr. Waite's pit, Mr. Waite said to him, "We had a little boy born at our house last night." Mr. Farren said, "I congratulate you. What are you going to name him?" Mr. Waite said, "He is already named, and we have named him for you, 'Barney Farren Waite.'" Mr. Farren said, "My name is not 'Barney' ; it is 'Bernard.'" Mr. Waite then said, "We will change the name of the baby tonight."

I have always felt that William P. Crocker, the Civil

Engineer, has never been given due credit for the ability shown in the matter of laying out the place, preparing plans for the future, and in solving the general engineering problems connected with that work; and I am very glad to have the opportunity of paying this tribute of deserved merit to his memory. He was a man of marked personal peculiarities, but he had an able mind, and time has shown that he made very few mistakes in those plans.

Credit for the generally substantial character of the place as a New England village, as well as of all its institutions, should be given in great measure to the ability, forethought and personal influence of George E. Marshall, Gilbert L. Rist, Joseph F. Bartlett and James A. Gunn, Sr.

It may be of a little interest to note that the building of the pulp mill hereinbefore referred to, was one of the first in the country to engage in the making of ground wood pulp. An elderly German, Burkhardt by name, had been for some time, experimenting in that line at Curtisville, N. Y., and desired financial aid to further develop and extend his ideas. He became connected with A. Pagenstecher of New York, and they with Col. Crocker, one day in the fall of 1868, came to Turners Falls, and I well remember hearing them decide to locate at Turners Falls and build a mill on the site just above the cutlery site.

The Turners Falls Co. gave them power at a low price and a large amount of it because an income was desired as soon as possible and also because it was thought then that the supply of water in the Connecticut River was inexhaustible—and the additional inducement was that on the banks of the river just above the dam and on the plains, there was also an inexhaustible supply of poplar trees growing. At that time it was thought that only poplar wood could be used for pulp, it being free from gum and having a long fiber. It was thought that this source of supply of wood, with what would be drawn in by the farmers from surrounding towns would keep the mill running for all the years to come—but the end of that supply soon came, and George E. Marshall, who had been put at the head of the Pulp Mill, as well as of the Montague Paper Co., found that under certain treatment, spruce

wood could be used, and soon had a supply coming down the river from Northern Vermont and New Hampshire. As compared with the amount of wood used then, it may be in order to say that the amount now annually used by the mills of the International Paper Co. is approximately one million cords.

It may also be in order to take notice of the change made during the past few years in the manner of making use of water for power purposes—then it was necessary to build the mill on the river and below the dam and canal, each mill developing its own power. Today, practically all new mills are run by electrical power. The mill may be placed anywhere, and the power carried to it. A good example of this can be given. After leaving Fitchburg by steam cars coming west, when near West Fitchburg, off on a hill to the right, one may see the roof and chimneys of a large mill. This is one of the paper mills of Crocker, Burbank Co., and is run by electrical power generated at the Vernon Dam, on the Connecticut River.

It may also be in order to note that Turners Falls has passed through all the stages, changes and developments of the methods of public travel and transportation of merchandise. First the trail and canoe, then the ox team and wagon, then the canal, then the railroad, which put the canal out of business, then the trolley which killed the railroad, to be itself killed by the automobile.

As the sawmill is the forerunner of nearly all building operations in a new place, the first lease of water for power purpose made by the Turners Falls Co., was made with Nathaniel Holmes, who in July of 1867, with his family moved from Gardner to Turners Falls and lived in the Hubbard Taft house near the ferry while their new home at Riverside was being built, and who that fall started to build, and later, with David A. Wood, ran the sawmill at the Gill end of the dam. This plant was destroyed by fire December 31, 1903.

So far as I know, the only man living today that worked on the dam of 1866, is Edward E. Barnard of Montague City. There was, however, a woman who had an important

part in carrying on this work and who is now living at Turners Falls; she is Mrs. Nancy Bowman, who in 1866 with her family lived on the Herrick Howland place in Riverside and there boarded many of the men that built the dam.

It may also not be out of place and perhaps of a little interest to say that the funerals of Colonel Alvah Crocker, the promoter of Turners Falls, and John Russell, the founder of what is now the John Russell Cutlery Works, were held on the same day in December, 1874.

Turners Falls is generally thought and spoken of as a manufacturing town, and such it is; in fact, the product of its mills, the Russell cutlery, Keith and Esleeck papers, the Griswold cottons, are sent out to the world, sold and used, because of their standard qualities. But there is another product of the village of equal or more value to the country, and that is the boys and girls that go from the homes and schools of the village each year, going out into the larger fields of action, and making for themselves in the professional, musical, literary and political world, a reputation for quality that is a matter of pride and satisfaction to their friends, and a credit to the Turners Falls of today.

ANNUAL MEETING—1927.

REPORT.

Another milestone, the 57th, has been passed by the venerable Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and much more treasure trove in the nature of historical papers and deserved tributes to those quite recently gone before has been added to the society's rich store of recorded knowledge. Perhaps the outstanding feature of the meeting was the splendid tribute to John Adams Aiken in a paper by Francis Nims Thompson. This Mr. Thompson has not given out for publication in newspapers, because of its very intimate character. It is a pity that every person who knew "Judge" Aiken cannot read this tribute which reveals with such richness the outstanding human qualities of Mr. Aiken as reflected through the long-time friendship between the author and his subject.

Of notable interest is the fact that steel-framed windows are being placed in Memorial Hall, further to guard against fire the valuable collection and records therein stored. Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon is making the work of the P. V. M. A. her life work, and it is a worth-while endeavor.

After the various reports were read the following officers were elected: President, John Sheldon; vice presidents, Francis N. Thompson, Franklin G. Fessenden; recording secretary, William L. Harris; corresponding secretary, N. Theresa Mellen; treasurer, George A. Sheldon; councillors, Winthrop P. Abbott, Jonathan P. Ashley, Helen C. Boyden, William B. Browne, Mary W. Fuller, E. Minnie Hawks, Charles W. Hazelton, James K. Hosmer, Margaret Miller, W. Herbert Nichols, S. Willard Saxton, Mary P. Wells Smith, Arthur H. Tucker, Margaret C. Whiting, Albert L. Wing.

Vacancies among the officers of the Sheldon Publishing Fund and Permanent Fund were filled by the re-election of Mrs. Sheldon and Miss Margaret Miller.

Judge Thompson read letters from William B. Browne of

North Adams, and from Ellen and Margaret Miller and Margaret C. Whiting, all of whom were unable to be present.

On motion of President John Sheldon it was voted that the lettering on the Bloody Brook monument be repainted, as it has become nearly illegible, the work to be done at the expense of the P. V. M. Association.

Rev. Charles Wellman read an excellent tribute to the late Mrs. Lucy E. Henry, written by himself and including a tribute by Mrs. Sheldon. Personal reminiscences were added by Mr. Amidon. Mrs. Sheldon also read a feeling tribute to Abbie Salome Titcomb.

Miss Minnie Hawks read a very entertaining paper by Margaret Miller on "The Old One-room Schoolhouse." Miss Miller is spending the winter in Florida. Her paper, which was in the nature of an obituary, was a mingling of pathos and humor.

Mrs. H. L. Childs paid tribute to the "Hill Town" teachers who have served Deerfield so well, and suggested that they might well be the subject at some future meeting of an interesting paper.

Robert Miller, formerly of Colrain, presented the society with an old family Bible, in connection with which he spoke briefly but eloquently on the value of self-reliance and self-respect.

Just before the close of the meeting Mr. Hazelton gave some interesting reminiscences of persons connected with the early development of the village of Turners Falls. He spoke at length of Col. Alvah Crocker, who was a leading factor in the building of the Fitchburg to Boston Railroad, the Fitchburg to Brattleboro, Vt., Railroad, the Greenfield to Troy Railroad, and the Hoosac Tunnel, and the development of Turners Falls. He also reviewed the services rendered by Mr. Crocker's brother, Engineer William P. Crocker, Wendell T. Davis of Greenfield and others. Last year Mr. Hazelton read a very interesting paper on Turners Falls development.

Following the afternoon meeting there was a Council meeting, after which an excellent supper was served by the women of Deerfield in the town hall.

Features of the evening meeting were papers by Mrs. Lucy Cutler Kellogg on "A Memorial for my Hoyt Ancestors," and by Mrs. H. S. Taylor on "Memories of Hall Tavern."

Another interesting paper was one written and read by Prof. John Dickinson of Harvard University, which dealt with "Economic Regulations and Restrictions on Personal Liberty in Early Massachusetts." This paper turned the searchlight of investigation upon those early days, and revealed many salient facts not commonly known in these times.

Prof. Dickinson stressed the fact that there was much Government interference with personal liberty in those days. This was so meddlesome that in these days it would be called Socialistic if not Bolshevistic rule. The diet and apparel were restricted in order that there should not be extravagance and waste. Short sleeves were tabooed, and cuffs and frills were demanded to "cover the nakedness of the arms." Boys and girls were not allowed to consort together for fear of dishonorable conduct. There was close supervision of the young people to see that no idleness existed. Liquors and tobacco came under severe censorship, and cards, dice and other forms of gambling were strictly forbidden.

Rev. Charles P. Wellman read the poem "Hail to the Day that gave Washington Birth," written by Jonathan Saxton and read at the Washington Centennial observance in Deerfield on Feb. 22, 1832.

The music was in charge of Jonathan P. Ashley and included numbers by a quartet composed of the following: George R. Bliss, tenor; Miss Irene Goddard, soprano; Miss Ethel Norton, alto; Jonathan P. Ashley, bass; with Miss Nina L. Day at the piano. The selections sung were: "Home Again," "Jerusalem, My Glorious Home," "My Grandma's Advice," solo by Miss Goddard, "Invitation," "Sons of Zion, Come Before Him," "Oft in the Stilly Night," "Auld Lang Syne."

Judge Thompson also presided at the evening meeting and introduced the speakers with graceful references and interesting anecdotes.

REPORT OF CURATOR.

It is now ten years since the founder of this Association passed beyond our ken. With a feeling of genuine satisfaction the Association recognizes the fact that the larger objects which the founder had in mind at the time of the erection of the fireproof wing in 1915 have now been accomplished. These objects were: A card catalogue of the nearly 20,000 books and pamphlets in the library; another edition of the printed *Catalogue* of the whole collection, necessitated by the addition of the wing; another edition of the illustrated *Guide* to the Hall, and a written *Catalogue* of the more important manuscripts; these objects, together with the publication of Volume VI of our *Proceedings* make a record worthy of the reputation now enjoyed by this Association.

Travelers from all over our land, including historic and research authorities, generally assert that this collection is the most complete of its kind in existence; by "its kind" is meant a collection that illustrates the everyday life of early New England. Even the speeding autoists feel the spell of the old-time kitchen, the bedroom, the Peabody room, and "want to stay all the afternoon." This growing desire to become one with the vital spirit of the past, in order to know it intimately, is a hopeful guarantee of right thinking and right acting in the future.

Memorial Hall and the Memorial Hall grounds have been an attractive magnet the past year, owing largely to the skillful and admirable care by the assistant, Miss N. Theresa Mellen.

The largest number of visitors in the history of the Association has been drawn to the Hall this year, the number rising to 9661. These have registered from 38 States and the following foreign countries: China, India, New Zealand, Panama, Mexico, Hungary, Switzerland, Russia, Japan, Germany, Australia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Italy, England, Canada, Armenia, Wales, Scotland, Cuba, Hawaiian Islands, South Africa, Syria, France, Bermuda, Brazil.

The following schools have visited the Hall: District school No. 4, West Brookfield. Clark school, Hanover, N. H. Crittenden grammar school, Shelburne Falls. Deerfield grammar school, grades 3 and 4, 5 and 6. Abercrombie school, Greenfield. Senior class, Belchertown high school. Highland school, Millers Falls. Senior class, Henniker, N. H. Grammar school, Simsbury, Ct. Four Corners school, grade 4, Greenfield. Household arts school, Turners Falls high school. Columbia University, N. Y. Northfield Seminary. Clark University, Worcester. Smith College. Clark University summer school. Mt. Holyoke College.

The following organizations have enjoyed the collection: Current Events Club, Springfield. Hampden County Women's Clubs. Camp Wickaboag, West Brookfield. Mohawk Lodges for Boys, Huntington. The Blind Players' Club, Brooklyn, N. Y. Men's Class, First Baptist Church, Holyoke. Y. M. C. A., Shelburne Falls. Camp Fire Girls, Greenfield.

The Association has received 243 contributions, consisting of 96 books and pamphlets and 147 miscellaneous objects. Among these is a sermon by Jonathan Edwards, published in 1738, from our Councillor, Arthur H. Tucker, of Milton. Mrs. Edith Stebbins Elphinstone of South Orange, N. J. has given Civil War relics of her father, Horace Stowell Stebbins of Deerfield. A large number of contributions have been received from Mrs. E. G. Patrick of South Deerfield, illustrating the domestic life of her ancestors in Leverett.

Mrs. Mary W. Fuller has contributed 29 Day Books and Ledgers of Dr. William Stoddard Williams, and two unique relics, the first fire engine of Deerfield, which may be seen in the Fort, and a cradle churn.

Recently we have received 26 pieces of old china and pewter from "the Bennett family." These heirlooms belonged to Rhoda Willard of Sterling, which was originally a part of Lancaster, Massachusetts. They were preserved by the descendants living in Sunderland. W. D. Bennett of Boston, who left the relics for the Hall, has promised to send us the history of these gifts.

The Association still needs various articles to make its

collection more complete. Among these are the following: oil portraits of the 18th century; a sofa and lowboy of the 17th or 18th century; a wainscot chair; a genuine lug pole for the kitchen; "steps for climbing into bed" for the bedroom; manuscripts of sixteen and seventeen hundred; Civil War relics, and "Genealogies" for our genealogical alcove. These contributions would be greatly appreciated by the Association.

Respectfully submitted,
J. M. Arms Sheldon.

Deerfield, Feb. 22, 1927.

NECROLOGY.

JOHN ADAMS AIKEN.

BY JUDGE FRANCIS NIMS THOMPSON.

There stands on Gun House Hill a grove through whose tall pines the winds on winter nights wailed drearily and will soon sigh dreamily in spring sunshine. Beneath these pines the rhododendron's leaves, which curled close on bitter days, are expanding in the warmth of an ascending sun; and under lingering snowbanks wild plants are awaiting their impending resurrection. A red stone wall shuts the green things in and tells us they have an owner, the master whose dark red house shares with a great oak the rocky crest of the hill.

It was a good friend who in 1893 sold to Judge Aiken this secluded and sightly hilltop, so near the Grinnell home where he found congenial companionship. He made this place of some three acres completely his own; building the house and a garden whose paths are hedged with box and planting trees and shrubs, but sparing the gnarled apples scattered on the eastern slope. He was married in Baltimore, Maryland, on the twenty-seventh day of March, 1895, to Miss Maria Dickinson of that city, and brought her to this home.

John Adams Aiken, leaving behind his bachelor days, left also the house in which he was born on the sixteenth day of September, 1850, and the quaint hillside garden whence I, as a child, had carried bouquets of pansies and thyme from his lovely mother to my own—for I, too, was born on West Main Street. When the railroad had burrowed beneath Greenfield's Main Street an old house, then occupied by Colonel Spencer Root, had been ousted from its original site and Judge Aiken's father had bought and removed it to a position westerly of what is now Miles Street. "The Old Judge" he was called, for Judge David Aiken was ninety when he died in this home in 1895, and he had been a justice of the Court of Common Pleas from 1856 until in 1859 it was abolished and the Superior Court for the Commonwealth established.

Judge David Aiken rejuvenated the old house for his young bride, Mary Elizabeth Adams of Amherst, and theirs was a cozy home, low set, with a porch upon the street and a sunny angle between house and ell. To it often came the inner circle of the village for a social evening, and before its hospitable hearth these friends, just before the "Good-nights" were said, used to join hands and sing together "Auld Lang Syne." The mantle they faced is now in the library of the Historical Society of Greenfield, and another from that house dignifies my own room. From his birthplace the son John went to the Greenfield high school and Phillips Academy at Andover. He was the eldest of the five children who grew up in that delightful home, and to him was given the name of his mother's family. John Adams Aiken was graduated from Dartmouth in 1874 and was for a short time principal of the old academy at Northfield.

The young man was attracted by journalism and, if he had not been influenced by his father's wishes, he would doubtless have made his mark as a writer. His papers and letters delight the mind, and the ear and eye also, and they are well flavored by a whimsical wit. His article on the Mohawk Trail,[1] published in the *Proceedings* of this Association, is masterly; and his tribute to his old neighbor

[1] *P. V. M. A. Proceedings*, Vol. V, p. 333.

Mrs. Rice [1] is as sweet as were the herbs in his mother's garden. He ever expressed himself clearly and in beautiful English. His conversation ignored petty matters and its tones were rich and finely modulated. His slow, but never labored, speech had the dignity and charm which marked all his life. I believe that from his father, who had an outward austerity, he acquired the one trait, and the other from his gentle mother. In the son they were most harmoniously blended.

Choosing his father's profession, John Aiken attended the Harvard Law School and was admitted to the bar of this county August twenty-first, 1876. My father was admitted at the same time and I think told me that Judges Aiken and Conant were their examiners. The fledging lawyers were good friends and were in danger of together ending their careers when a canvas canoe in which they were navigating the Connecticut River was wrecked upon a rock in the rapids known as "the French King." Both these future judges served their apprenticeship as trial justices for this county, and enlarged their knowledge of human nature as well as brutish, through service as secretaries of the Franklin County Agricultural Society. Later their common interest in the history of this region led them to become members of the Pocumtuck Memorial Association, and each became a councillor and a vice president of the organization. Judge Aiken's membership dates from 1891; he was a councillor twenty years, and vice president for the four years beginning 1909.

"The Old Judge" and his son formed a law partnership, and the junior partner after his father's retirement continued in the practice of law at the old office on "Arms Corner" next the courthouse. It was pleasant to see the erect form of the aged man seated by the clerk of the court, where he could best observe his talented son's persuasive examination of witnesses. Naturally, I particularly recall the contest before the Supreme Judicial Court of a will which I had drawn for an old woman of marked eccentricities. Although Frederick L. Greene, Esquire, represented the heirs so

[1] *P. V. M. A. Proceedings,* Vol. V, p. 123.

efficiently that they were actually awarded costs, Lawyer Aiken won his case.

Public appreciation of the ability and personality of John A. Aiken was demonstrated in the fall of 1882 when he was elected as a Democratic member of the state legislature from a representative district strongly Republican. He declined further service in that body but was elected in 1889 the district attorney for the northwestern judicial district, including the counties of Hampshire and Franklin, and for six years discharged creditably the important duties of that position. These experiences, these public offices, were to fit him for the greater service which he was to render the Commonwealth.

Shortly before his forty-eighth birthday John Aiken received a telephone message inquiring if he would the next day accept an appointment as a justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts. September seventh, 1898, that appointment was made by Governor Wolcott and Justice John Adams Aiken began at once the great work of his life. The quality of that work was such that at the death of Chief Justice Mason in 1905 Justice Aiken was appointed to preside over that court, and as chief justice he continued to serve upon the Superior Court until his retirement at the age of seventy-two years, beloved by bench and bar alike. His service to the Commonwealth was great. His sympathetic understanding of all sorts and conditions of men, and the depth of his desire to take right action, may have increased the burden of his duties, but the way of others was smoothed by his unfailing courtesy, and his serene manner and intellectual face inspired their confidence.

To recall that he asked an officer to inform him when the circus parade approached, so that he might recess court during its passage, colors the picture a bit, but do not imagine that the court lacked decorum. Judge Aiken did not have to be careful of his dignity; it was too genuine for that. Off the bench he was no more fearful of being found playing or gardening than was the great mathematician ashamed of writing *Alice in Wonderland;* and as a gardener he wore bluejeans, though his respected neighbor on the other side

of their garden gate hoed his plants while clothed in black skirt coat and stovepipe hat.

From the tall mast south of the judge's garden, flags of our country and others, of Massachusetts and Maryland, and many other symbols floated in breezes which blew from the Shelburne hills across the valley of our Green River to sway the hollyhocks and larkspur on Gun House hill. When a new law required a national flag in the Probate Court room, and I, desiring to display also the emblem of the State, asked Judge Aiken the address of a flag-maker, he approved the symbolism and ordered that the Massachusetts flag be placed in every Superior Court room in the State. I feel that many things which to commonplace men were commonplace—were to his fine, thoughtful, discriminating mind, symbolic, and I remember how, sitting beside him to witness an impressive historical pageant here in Deerfield, I noted that he was virtually transported to the scenes depicted before him.

He loved the symbolic, the ideal, the beautiful, and spared no pains to familiarize himself with them. He delighted in the quaint, the curious, the historic, and gathered clippings and books of sundry sorts; and to him an old story of the droll wit of some local character was treasure-trove. His studies of botany and horticulture were rewarded by glowing gardens. Our own Memorial Association is enriched by his interest in local history and customs, and to his active curiosity concerning the "Old Indian Road over the Mt." [1] between the Cold and Deerfield Rivers is attributed the naming of the widely known "Mohawk Trail" of the motorists. His carefully designed "passports" issued under the seal of Gun House Hill to friends desiring "safely and freely to pass over" the trail are treasured by their possessors as characteristic bits of his philosophical humor.

Judge Aiken's wit was kindly; his unusual powers of expression were used not to impress another with his erudition but to lead his companion to reveal himself; sometimes to delicately compliment. He was modest, as men of great ability often are, and there was that within him which was in accord with beauty, youth and growth. His "inmost heart

[1] Hoyt's *Topographical Map of the County of Franklin*, 1832.

was shy and wistful, a child-heart still," [1] and he inspired and retained affection, admiration and respect.

His was one of the notable figures of Massachusetts; it was known to all in his home town; but few knew him, even to the extent one may know another, though I think we most nearly discovered the open, baffling personality of this simple, wise man when in his library or in his garden.

In that garden the hepaticas now impatiently crouched within their leathern leaves beneath the snows will soon spring forth to lead a procession of blossoms along the paths winding among his trees and shrubbery; but their master—and lover—will not again wander there—a slender, silent figure, dignified and charming—to note tenderly and proudly their progress.

John Adams Aiken, lover of nature, bade farewell to the natural on the twenty-eighth day of last month; but he loved as well those greater things of which the flowers and nature itself are but symbols.

So Judge Aiken's friends will come at sunset to walk in his grove, to listen to the murmuring in the pine-tops and to commune with nature; and there they will commune with the God of nature, growth and perfection, and with all sweet spirits whose memories so readily come to greet us at such a meeting place.

Fare thee well.

LUCY EMERINE HENRY.

(1843–1927.)

BY REV. CHARLES P. WELLMAN.

A little before her 84th birthday—not very long ago, Jan. 10,—Mrs. Henry remarked to my wife with that half serious, half facetious way of hers, "I have given up going to Church, but I want that man," casting a side glance at me, "to take me to the P. V. M. A."

[1] Katherine Lee Bates' poem on Charlotte Fitch Roberts, 1917.

She had indeed given up going to her beloved Church. And I have not brought her here. But it is a privilege to help bring her to mind in this tribute of ours, as one of

> "The kind, the true, the brave, the sweet,
> Who walk with us no more,"—

one who gleefully anticipated these annual meetings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and never failed to attend; one whose unique individuality strongly impressed those who came near.

If we had tarried up by Cheapside on a certain day close to 66 years ago, we might have seen a box wagon approaching, turning right across the bridge and disappearing around the turn toward Deerfield. It might have attracted our attention because its only freight besides the driver was a square, mahogany Chickering piano, with a little boy sitting atop. Later, the stage from North Adams to Greenfield, via Rowe, brought the wife and three daughters. In the home they had left way up on the hills of Rowe, at the Center, they had talked it over; "Yes, the children must have an education; down in Deerfield is an Academy and not far from there is the Normal School at Westfield." So Elbert Amidon, by trade a carpenter, had been down to Deerfield and built a house, and now they were arriving: Father, mother, an elder daughter of 17, and three younger children.

The house still stands, now the parsonage of the Brick Church. In it is the old Chickering piano still in fair use and tone. The little boy since then has travelled far in time and knowledge and more than ever loves this great world of beauty and mystery which the Amidons seem always to have treasured in their hearts. But the rest are gone. Only this month, February 6, early in the morning, as befits a mariner anxious to weigh anchor and take advantage of tide and wind, Lucy Emerine Amidon Henry put out on her "great adventure."

The next step in Mrs. Henry's Deerfield life that she shyly liked to talk of, was her marriage. In the several years intervening much must have happened besides her brief attendance at the Westfield Normal School and her

return home to help her stepmother. Long before coming to Deerfield she had been "little Mother" to the younger children and had become a home-maker by actual practice. Surely she had explored the new meadows and woods to know what they held of "marvel and surprise," and to see if new varieties of bird and flower might be added to those of her beloved Rowe. One wonders if she was not a gay and favorite companion at many an indoor and outdoor affair where old and young met for recreation. Her rich contralto voice must often have been heard in the church and home.

But now comes home from the Civil War, David Henry, and as the sequel to an early school-day friendship in Rowe, Lucy and David were married—"right in this room over by the south window" she has often repeated as we sat in what is now the parsonage study; it was early in the morning, the twentieth of February, 1864, followed by a wedding breakfast, that they might get an early start for Rowe, whither they were returning to make their home. Can we not here imagine her, seated by her David in an open sleigh starting good and early for the thirty-mile drive up over the mountain, past Charlemont, turning off to Zoar, winding along Pelham Brook, climbing the long steep hills, till, as she told me, suddenly way up to the right in their home to be, they caught the beacon of a single lamp placed in the window as a welcome home by Aunt Pattie and Uncle Sol, who alone knew of their approach. In the past few years, she an old lady and I a newcomer, have often covered that route in my car. And it never failed to bring back that honeymoon trip to her lips or make her marvel how quickly now the round trip can be made.

This gives us the background of Mrs. Henry's life. It explains the love for her birth town, Rowe, always in mind if not on tongue, where the formative years of her life were passed. Who doubts but that the vigorous air and healthful climb, power of hills and wild no less than cultivated beauty helped to build her wonderful physical constitution, to fashion her ideals and her loves? To the last, a visit to Rowe was an event. It brought forward familiar names, incidents, places, people, and a flush to her cheek. It accounts for a

John Burroughs' quotation with which she once began a letter, "I come to these hills to find myself."

It explains how she came to Deerfield; ambition of her father for his children's welfare. He thought of the education that school and academy might give. We add to that, the education which by nature and habit he himself gave. Did she not come rightly by her love of music, when we see him carefully bringing to Deerfield his piano in the box wagon? There are those still living who recall Elbert Amidon's intense interest and activity in the music of our Brick Church and who have seen him sitting out many a dance till after midnight,—an old man,—that he might get his fill of music.

Did she not come rightly by her love of nature? "I am writing at my table with bright sunshine all about" begins one of her letters two summers back. "I have pond lilies from Warwick, a big bunch of blue bachelor-buttons from Mrs. Ashley's garden, and ten stalks of salmon gladiolus beside me." The announcement last summer of finding the haunt of the dwarf yellow lady-slipper in a secluded spot on Pine Hill was of feverish interest to her. "She knows them (wild flowers) better than any unprofessional botanist I know," quoted from a letter, "but she got her start in the glad days of long ago when our common father used to take us four children on Sunday afternoons across the soft meadows and the then majestic woods between our house and Pelham Lake, and show us everything."

Likewise with her love of books and magazines. Whence came her keen relish for any new bit of information of scientific fact? How came it that from Greek philosophy to the latest experiments in the cultivation of apples, from the *National Geographic Magazine* to Miss Coleman's *New England Captives*, which she was reading when overtaken by illness, she picked and pruned? "Habit" she used to say, "explains much." "At home," she once told me, "when I was a child, father and mother always read aloud to us children evenings and they always tried to answer our questions."

Habit again, plus the home leading, accounts for her life-

time devotion to her Unitarian Church. There always were her heart and mind. "When I cease going to church," she said not very long ago, "then I am about through." "I could not bear the thought of its ever being given up," she remarked as she arranged her bequests. So she left her mite with her love, to her church. But one is not surprised at this trait when he has found the name of Amidon playing an important part in the proceedings of The Church of Christ in Rowe and Deerfield, and has heard repeatedly from her lips the part her parents played in church life.

So the ambition for education gave Mrs. Henry to Deerfield, but her parents gave her an education of home and example which with inherited tendencies, may have been as great as the other.—Who knows? At least in that home at Rowe Center, just west of the old church, there was love of books and conversation; love of the physical world with its flowers and all life; love of music and love for the Church of Christ.

There is one outstanding quality, beside that which Mrs. Sheldon from her intimate fellowship with Mrs. Henry points out in her tribute, which ought to be mentioned; namely, loving-kindness. Kind, she always was; even the newcomer could detect that element in her make-up. But when we discover that at her marriage she went not to a new home of her own, fresh and lovely, with everything in it "wearing the bloom of Spring," but really into the home of two old people (and I think a third) fast nearing their end; and when in 1888 we find her returning to Deerfield to care for her father in the Deerfield home, bringing Uncle Sol with her, when it comes out that she was nurse, companion, home-maker, for six elderly people in succession clear to the end of their lives, caring for them cheerfully and tenderly, then we appreciate what the quality of loving-kindness meant in her.

"Her consummate care of six or seven old people clear to the end," writes her brother—and he names them—"her tender care for each"; "a long life of unexampled kindness"; "her courage, and unfailing patience"; "poor dear, most unselfish soul"; "nothing so expresses what she was as those words LOVING-KINDNESS"; "not till David died, old

and blind, was she free"; these are phrases picked at random from the appraisal of her virtues in letters from her brother.

Along with this quality there went a rugged strength of character and an individual opinion not always slow to be expressed. "Nothing can be more sot," writes one of her own, "than a long pedigreed Yankee." That thought often came to mind when she was sputtering, as she was oft wont to do, her disapproval of some issue at hand. "What's opinion for" she sallied when she found me quietly laughing at her, "if it isn't to be spoken?" Sometimes it came sharp and heavy, but never with rancor. Indeed, after the storm came the rainbow.

Besides other town interests, in the fullness of time she plunged into the Deerfield Industries—and bore her share of its success. But I have always felt that in spite of her Matrimony, Moonshine, Barleycorn, Dancing Girls and testers, she was her own best exhibit. Her contagious interest in all her patterns and stitches, in her material, her workers and customers—how she radiated on all who came! And withal, she must mix up some little incident of history, or some anecdote about a noted person, or rare flower, or Rowe wonder. Her genius was not as a creative artist, but to copy accurately any pattern that came to hand and to make it attractive.

What can conquer with cheerfulness, loving kindness, the education of the two kinds mentioned, a good heritage, a vigorous mind of one's own, and the spirit of youth in one's veins?

After a comparatively short illness, due to heart failure, and in which there was little or no physical suffering, with every mental faculty keen and bright,—she often doubled us up with laughter over her quaint remarks, which she seemed to enjoy herself,—she passed out on what was known in her Church as Young People's Sunday. I thought how symbolic of one always young herself,—always ready for a lark, always ready for a drive, always quick to turn with keen interest to what opened up a more beautiful knowledge of life!

"Youth is not a time of life; it is a state of mind. . . . Nobody grows old by merely living a number of years, only

by deserting their ideals." Lucy Emerine Henry never gave up her early acquired and ever growing ideals. Measured by the standards quoted above, she was always youthful.

Mrs. Sheldon's Tribute.

Cheeriness is the word that springs to one's lips whenever the name of Lucy Emerine Henry is spoken. She was the very embodiment of cheerfulness even under what seemed to be hard and lonely conditions. Many there are who, in periods of depression, have been refreshed and invigorated by her sane, sensible and happy outlook on life. "I have enjoyed life," she said, a short time before her death. "I have had much happiness, I have never been sick—why should I be so foolish now? I have not traveled or seen much of the world, but I have found happiness in my home and in simple things." Never was there a truer word spoken. Finding happiness in simple things was one secret of her successful life. The truth of her words was proved in many ways; I shall speak only of one way. It was proved when she became the delightful walking companion. Leaving sorrows, disappointments, clouds of every kind behind her, she went out into the heart of Nature in spirit like the bird that soars through unknown spaces. She reveled in the freedom of earth and sky. She spied wee plants, rare flowers, parasitic weeds, flint flakes, queerly marked rocks, and told something so interesting about them that you felt sure you were in another world where seeking knowledge was the supreme object of life. The birds that flew over our heads, and the little creatures that hopped about our feet, were her friends, and many a tale of her own observation she told to her listening companion. Through the seemingly boundless North Meadows we wandered till we discovered that even "Satan's Kingdom" may be indescribably beautiful; beside the whirling waters of "Red Rocks" we paused and pondered, thinking of the tragedy of two centuries ago; under the "Sunset Tree" we felt the irresistible charm of field and forest, of flowing river and distant dreamy hills; up the "Ashley Pasture" we climbed

till we rested with the wondrous earth before us. In winter time we strayed away on the frozen crust till it refused to bear us on its surface—then there was merriment galore. These summer and winter exploring trips were periods when Nature was truly and dearly loved. This love and first-hand scientific knowledge were supplemented by extensive reading to the last month of her life.

Once when walking our friend exclaimed, "Isn't it a pity we can't be as serene as this scene before us!" On another occasion, when speaking of a mutual acquaintance, she said, "He is one of those unfortunate people who always speak right out, regardless, and then is sorry for it—just like myself." Many of us "speak right out, regardless," but how many of us acknowledge that we are sorry?

Twenty-one years ago, in 1906, Mrs. Henry became a life member of this Association, and from that time to her death she has been a loyal and enthusiastic member, helping in many different ways. For years she was an efficient member of the supper committee, and for the past ten years has served on the Board of Councillors. One of the most satisfying joys of her life was the preparation of an historical paper, entitled "Tales of a Great-Grandfather," a paper which contained original matter never before published; this was read at the annual meeting in 1921. Oftentimes, while writing this paper, Mrs. Henry became absolutely absorbed in the work. Her keen desire to have every statement accurate, and her eagerness for more and ever more knowledge, were a guarantee that had life and health been hers, she would have found pure delight in original historical research. As it was, her intense interest in the scientific and historical work of others was most stimulating to her friends.

Another has spoken of Mrs. Henry's deep, abiding faith in her own beloved church, and of her long and skillful leadership in one branch of the "Society of Village Industries." It is for us, members of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, to strive continuously to carry out her oft-repeated wish that this Association may always be a living, active institution for the preservation of everything worthy in the heroic past of old, historic Deerfield.

ABBIE SALOME TITCOMB.

BY J. M. ARMS SHELDON.

There are lives which seem to be lived for others exclusively. In early youth these lives reveal the same bright colors of the kaleidoscope of other lives. They are full to the brim of exultant hope; they revel in glowing anticipation; they crave that freedom which makes possible individual growth and development, a larger sphere of action, a broader horizon. Then there comes a time in these lives when the bright tints fade to somber hues, and something which we call Fate because, as yet, we have no other name for it, changes normal, boundless, creative joy into uncompromising duty. The visions of youth, where are they?

If the spirit of these lives is strong enough to recognize no such word as fail, then the spirit triumphs, and Fate is defeated, though the victory is altogether different from that promised by youth.

In my judgment the life of Abbie Salome Titcomb is an illustration of what I have been saying. Born a free and happy child, she grew to girlhood. Then the mother was stricken with blindness. The daughter, leaving school, devoted herself to her mother, as only a loving, loyal daughter can do. Eight years the mother's darkness was illumined by the light of the daughter's love. When the mother passed to a world of light, the daughter became the home-maker for the lonely father. For years they enjoyed "the dear togetherness" in their happy Boston home. When the visible presence of the father in the home was no longer possible, and a wave of aloneness swept over the daughter, the "urge" for helping others still controlled her, and in December, 1906, brought her to our home in Deerfield, at a time of imperative need. Her constant thoughtfulness, her refined nature, her warm sympathy and her rare ability created a sustaining influence in the home. Her absolute faith that mental power may dominate the physical nature helped her to bear trying conditions with marvelous serenity and poise. When the mercury sank to twenty-five degrees below zero, with the

usual attendant results, (as it did again and again in the winter of 1907) she did not complain; in fact, I cannot recall a single complaint during the five years she was with us.

At this time she grew more and more interested in the history of Old Deerfield, and in 1908 she became a member of this Association. She took a lively interest in its work, and always wanted to hear or read the reports and the historical papers given at its annual meeting.

In 1911 Miss Titcomb left Deerfield to make her home with her widowed sister in Worcester. Since that time she has been helping the blind, the aged, the helpless. Days have been spent in the Home for the Blind, where she has read aloud to the inmates, who must now rise up and call her blessed. Surely her spirit triumphed over fate.

What was the secret of this power of the spirit? Partly, not wholly, but partly, doubtless, the secret lay in her ancestry. Her great-grandfather, on the mother's side, Lemuel Williams, born in Easton, Massachusetts, March 2, 1751, was a soldier of the Revolution and was with Washington at Valley Forge in that terrible winter of 1777–78.

On her father's side she was descended from William Titcomb, who came from Newbury, England, in 1635, and who, it is said, was the ancestor of all by the name in America.

If memory serves me, an ancestor on the father's side also served in the Revolutionary War, fighting for justice and equal opportunity for all.

The sturdy spirit of these strong, virile men could not fail to be handed down to their descendant, which with her own initiative and faith helped her to win the victory.

AN OBITUARY OF THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE.

349 3d St., North,
St. Petersburg, Fla.,
Jan. 27, 1927.

My dear Mrs. Sheldon:

It is difficult to realize that it is still winter in this hemisphere when we take our sewing and chairs and adjourn to the north yard in the afternoon to escape the too ardent

beams of the sun that beat upon our south windows. But we can easily imagine, with our many memories of cold snaps and blizzards, what our friends in the north are undergoing. We shall picture you on P. V. M. A. day as wading through the snowdrifts or crawling over the icy pavements. And we shall wish that we were with you in spite of the weather.

I suppose you have noticed that Henry Ford is going to restore the Wayside schoolhouse, and have a school kept there as it was during the days of its prime. And it calls to mind the one-room schoolhouse, where I spent the first four years of my school life.

Will Mr. Ford duplicate the old-time structure, furnishings and all? I wonder. If so he must have handmade desks of the roughest construction, with heavy board tops painted green so that the initials carved by boyish jackknives show up well. These desks, made for two, must have thick planks for the seats and there must be a plank bench against the wall either side of the teacher's desk for a recitation seat. (N. B. This bench can also be utilized for giving an A B C scholar a nap, now and then, wrapped in teacher's shawl.) The teacher's desk should also be rudely built like the desks, carrying out the idea that education was a serious thing, and no "soft snap" as in these days. The blackboard (about 3 by 4 feet) would be hastily constructed and imperfectly blacked, with knots in the wood and a crack across the middle so that much skill and ingenuity might be developed when drawing a map or working out a long example in multiplication. The chalk used should be large, hard lumps, not crayons. The only adornment of the room (if one call it such) would be a map of the United States partly torn from its rollers. (If the western half of the map does not contain large blank spaces it will not be in keeping with the rest of the room.) A large box stove in front of the teacher's desk should complete the furnishings. A good-sized box half filled with sand, under the stove, might puzzle the uninitiated, but the children will soon learn that the ink bottles are to be buried in this sand, after school every day during the winter. But even with this precaution the ink in the

copy books is apt to look pale and watery after several freezings.

The schoolroom has to be entered through an entry which is a combination of wood room and coat room and also contains the water pail and dipper.

Now should Mr. Ford reconstruct the Sudbury school on this rather simple plan (and I have no doubt the Wayside schoolhouse was similar to the one I remember) will he engage a teacher whose ideas are in keeping with this somewhat primitive equipment? My teacher, Miss Mary, was sufficiently typical to represent her class. Her methods were simple and not complicated by any of the modern ideas of psychology and character development. She was there to "teach 'em and larn 'em," and if the children didn't like what was set before them that was no affair of hers. Spelling was a strong point with her and spelling matches were our delight. What did it matter that we were ignorant of the meaning of nine-tenths of the words that we were so glib over? I was eight years old when a "joggerphy" was put into my hands for the first time. Previous to that I always took pleasure in the recitations of the older "joggerphy" classes. And that I consider one of the advantages of an ungraded school. There is always entertainment when one is tired of studying the primer or trying to cram the multiplication table into one's head. True, the little ones were given hour-long recesses, when we played house in the "cubbies" at the base of the great elm tree. These special dispensations for the A B C scholars were on the whole more enjoyable than the regular recess, although we often had fun at that time playing our unsupervised games. I have never been able to find the origin of the singing play that was most popular with us. It ran as follows:

King William was King George's son,
Upon the royal race he run;
Upon his breast he wore a star
That points the way to the Temple Bar.
Go choose your east, go choose your west,
Go choose the one that you love best.
If she's not here to take your part

Choose another with all your heart.
Down on this carpet you must kneel,
Sure's the grass grows in the field.
Salute your bride and kiss her sweet,
Rise again upon your feet."

If sentimentality cloyed us we would engage in a grand tug-of-war over "Pison" or raised the echoes with our shrieks as we imagined ourselves wild Indians. When we came in from our play, all hot and panting, to resume our struggle with our books, three or four hands would immediately be raised in petition, "Please may we go for water?" So two were chosen to fetch a pail from the next house, and pass it around the schoolroom, one dipper serving for all. How about that, Mr. Ford? It never occurred to us then that it was unsanitary, but Lordy! what have we come to? If this goes on, in a hundred years we shall all be living on separate planets.

Discipline was the most simple thing in Miss Mary's extremely simple system. Sometimes when the upper class was reading, droning out the words like the buzz of bees on a hot day, "teacher" would occupy herself with a little sewing. If she suspicioned that mischief was brewing she would suddenly swoop down upon those in the back seats and thump heads indiscriminately with her thimble finger. Then she would return to her seat, leaving penitents—or make-believe penitents—weeping with elbows across their faces. But Miss Mary's chief weapon was what we called a "good." A "good" was a slip of colored paper about one inch by two upon which the word good was written. These slips were handed to each deserving child as we passed out of school. Many a time have I seen Irish boys weeping and wailing all the way home for fear of the "licking" they were sure to get for not bringing a "good" with them; and I am sure that much naughtiness was averted by this trifling reward for good behavior.

Examinations were unknown in that one-room schoolhouse but from the first day of the term we began to prepare for what was always known as "Last Day." The description in the Chautauqua paper of pupils who achieve "Grand-

eur, Glory and Graduation," fittingly pictures our attitude toward Last Day. For weeks the reading classes were drilled in the "pieces" that they could do the best, and the little dialogues were rehearsed,—always during school hours, so that everyone knew every other person's part by heart. And when other subjects went stale we asked each other what we were going to wear on Last Day. The answer was always the same. It was either "a white dress and blue ribbons," or "a white dress and pink ribbons." Three days before the event we little girls began to braid our hair in tight small pigtails so that it would crimp "just beautiful" when the Great Day came. I have always remembered a scene in which I took part. Several girls represented common occupations such as cook, washerwoman, seamstress, etc., each in turn praising her own calling but uniting in a chorus of disapproval of the idle one.

"Do, do, nothing to do,
I'd rather be dairymaid, chambermaid, cook,
Than a lady with nothing to do."

Although it fell to my lot to be cook (something that I always liked to be) and,—

"Make the cake,
And broil the steak
And knead the spongy bread,"

I joined, secretly, with the others who, while openly condemning her, looked with envious eyes upon Emily, who, bedecked with all the finery that she could borrow, chanted:

Oh I am a lady with nothing to do
But sit in my parlor and rock,
And turn the rings on my fingers around
And look at the face of the clock."

Doubtless the audience appreciated the moral more than did the performers.

The crowning joy of Last Day came at the very end after the last piece had been said and school committee and fathers had testified to the joy and surprise they felt at the amount of learning that we had been able to store up.

Then Miss Mary distributed the presents! They were not prizes. Every pupil, good or bad, received a small remembrance. Probably these little gifts averaged about ten cents each. But they were wonderful. We looked forward to them for weeks. Probably they helped us to the feeling that school was a delightful place. At any rate, I know that the larger building with more modern equipment to which I was promoted at ten has no such place in my affection. In fact I never remember it at all except as a wearisome stage on my journey to the Academy where happiness once more became mine.

I have written at considerable length, but I thought that as there seemed to be a happy dearth of obituaries you might find an obituary of the one-room schoolhouse useful for padding at the afternoon meeting of the P. V. M. A. But there is no obligation.

With regards to my friends of the P. V. M. A., and with many regrets at my absence,

Very sincerely yours,
MARGARET MILLER.

A MEMORIAL FOR MY HOYT ANCESTORS.

BY LUCY CUTLER KELLOGG.

It has been written that "to gather up the memorials of those who have gone before us, to reconstruct their living portraits from historical fragments so widely scattered, is a work of time, of patience, and of unremitting toil; but once completed, the ancestral line, reaching far down the vista of the past, will stand out clearly before us, the images of our fathers will tenderly live in our minds, and we shall reverently cherish their memories, as will, likewise, generations to come."

With this in mind, the perusal of an old account book, in wallet form, of my great-great-grandfather, Jonathan Hoyt, stimulated a lifelong interest in this line of my ancestry, and

caused the resolution to place in permanent form the record of my direct line of Hoyt forbears.

The name Hoit, or Hoyt, as it is more commonly spelled, is derived from a characteristic; that is, from the old English verb, now obsolete, only existing in the form of a surname, which meant "to leap" or "to caper," and was therefore applied to those possessed of agility and suppleness.

The English home of the family has not, to my knowledge, been definitely settled, although from the fact that there was an ancient family of Hoyts in Somersetshire, some have felt that the American branch probably came from that county. The name has also appeared in Germany under the name of Von Hoyte.

The first to come to New England was Simon Hoyt, whose name appears on a "List of the names such as are known to have been in Salem and about the north side of the Massachusetts Bay before the year 1629." Of the time and manner of his arrival I have no positive trace. Some claim he may have come in either the "Abigail" or "George" in 1628–29, and perhaps went in 1629 to Charlestown, as one of the first settlers there. Certain it is that he took the oath of Freeman May 18, 1631, and that in 1633 his name appears on the Dorchester Records. He seems to have early begun to acquire land, for in that same year, 1633, he is recorded as having "a lot of planting land on the third cliff in Scituate." In the latter place we may assume that he lived at this period, as on April 19, 1635, he and his wife joined the church in Scituate, and he built a house there between Sept., 1634, and Oct., 1636.

In 1639 we find him among the settlers of the second colony at Windsor, Ct., where he had fourscore acres of land granted him by the Plantation, Feb. 28, 1640. May 6 following, "Simon Hoyette and his family are to be freed from watch and ward until there be further order taken by the Court." The reason for this is disclosed by the fact that his land lay on the east side of the rivulet away from the other settlers, and they had enough to do to protect themselves from the Indians without travelling a long distance to guard those who lived in the village. The name of "Hoyt's

Meadow" remained to designate this section of Windsor long after the family were gone.

The Windsor Records state that "Ould Goode Hoytt" died there in 1644; possibly the wife, or near relative, of Simon.

In March, 1649, Simon had a house-lot granted him in Fairfield, Ct., to which he added, that same year, by purchase; so he must have acquired some means. Sometime between 1649 and 1657 Simon Hoyt, from Fairfield removed to Stamford, Ct., and there died Sept. 1, 1657. The inventory of his estate is preserved on the old Stamford Records, and amounted to £233 with £6 indebtedness. It is thought that he was born as early as 1595 and that he was twice married. His widow's name was Susanna.

The *Hoyt Genealogy* sums up his life history in this manner: "The chronicles of the times gives us some idea of the hardships endured by the first settlers at Charlestown and Dorchester; the sufferings of the winter; the conspiracy of the Indians to cut off the English when all hands of men, women and children wrought at digging and building until a fort was completed, and the perils and pestilence and famine when they were compelled to live on clams and mussels and fish." All these conditions Simon Hoyt must have experienced. It appears that he was an early settler in seven different towns in New England and in most of them, one of the first White residents. What an experience of pioneer life he must have had! Scarcely was he settled in one place, before he gave up his home with its few acquired comforts and started to subdue a new portion of the wilderness. Most of his children seem to have shared the spirit of their father, for twenty years after his death no one bearing the name of Hoyt was left in any of these seven towns, except Stamford. The hardy and courageous character of the family is shown not only in their pioneer life, but by the fact that they lived, in Windsor, at least, far away from the other inhabitants.

Of the ten children it is thought that there were three sons by the first wife, of whom one was Nicholas, born in England between 1620 and 1626; married June 12, 1646, Sus-

anna Joyce, and died July 7, 1655, his wife Susanna having died only three days before, on July 4. David Hoyt, historian of the family, in 1871 states: "We have not been able to find any direct and positive proof that Nicholas was a brother of Walter and son of Simon; but the circumstances are such as to leave no doubt of the fact."

In the first book of the Windsor, Ct., land records, are five grants to, and purchases by, Nicholas Hoyt. That his life was not always cast in smooth moulds is judged by the following entries on the records of the "Particular Court" at Hartford: "7th March 1649, 1650 action of slander to the damage of twenty £, Thomas Stanton, Plaintiff, Nicholas Hoite, Defendant. The Defendant pleading want of witnesses to clear his case which he could produce if he had a longer time the court grants him liberty to the next Particular Court except they see cause to call it sooner," "28 March, 1650, the jury finds for the defendant, the coste of the Courte," "Execution, delivered 3rd June 1650 for costs, 6s."

The youngest of Nicholas Hoyt's four children was David, but "fowre years, eleven weekes of age when bereft of his parents." His life began and ended with tragedy. A hint of the pathos of his childhood is given in the inventory of his father's estate, which closes with these words:

"It. In debts y^{t} appears to be due to sev'all men out of ye estate, amounts to 33£ 5s. 4d. Beside w^{h} expenses will bee necessary to bestow on ye children to put them in necessary apparel, for those y^{t} they are to be placed wth all, wi^{ch} all ye estate above y^{t}, lyes in apparrell will not bee sufficient." How, where and with whom the childhood of David, his brothers, Jonathan and Samuel, and his half sister, Abigail Joyce, was spent, is a matter of conjecture. That there must have been good surroundings and influences, the qualities displayed in later years bear ample testimony. The religious tendencies of the family in all generations seemed to have been strongly developed, and from the first Simon down, there have ever been a strong adherence and faithful support given to the Orthodox Church.

David Hoyt was born April 22, 1651, at Windsor, Ct. He was thrice married; first, to Sarah, daughter of Thomas Wells;

second, to Mary Wilson; and third, to Abigail, widow of Joshua Pomeroy and daughter of Nathaniel Cook of Windsor. He took the oath of allegiance at Hadley Feb. 8, 1678–9, and while a resident there participated in the Falls Fight under Captain Turner. As a result of the service under Turner, his son Jonathan, in 1736, was one of the claimants for land in the new Falls Fight Township now known as Bernardston.

His stay at Hadley was not long, going thence for a brief residence at Hatfield, and becoming in 1682 among the first of "the permanent settlers" at Deerfield, receiving various grants of land. Throughout his life he assumed a leading place in town affairs, was Deacon, and was one of those chosen to "seat the Meeting house." In 1691, upon recommendation of Pynchon of Springfield, Gov. Bradford appointed him Lieut. in place of Lieut. Wells, recently deceased.

His home lot in Deerfield was No. 6 on the site lately owned by William Andrews on the west side of the Street near the north end. He did his full measure of public duty, laying out roads, appraising land and stocks, taking part in all religious life, besides all that he accomplished in military affairs and which concerned the public safety.

Concerning the family life of David Hoyt and the captivity of his family, a story has been most charmingly told by Mrs. Elizabeth Champney in her paper "Sounding Brass," read before this society in Feb., 1877. Here is recalled the courtship of Mary, the oldest daughter, and Judah Wright, a Hatfield soldier billeted on the Hoyt family, and also the marriage of the daughter Sarah.

Such a long time has elapsed since the paper was given (fifty years ago this annual February meeting) and because it is such a story as well deserves to be numbered among the New England Classics, so full of romance and charm is it, I am going to give a portion of Mrs. Champney's version of these great events in the lives of these two Hoyt sisters, daughters of David.

Matters came to a crisis in the spring of 1703. The family had "gone a-sugaring" in Mr. Hoyt's "plantation" of maples, and the Sergeant and Mary had been left to watch the great kettle of sap as it seethed and boiled over the coals. The text which heads our story "Sounding Brass"

was one from which the Rev. John Williams had preached on the preceding Sunday, and the sermon had been the subject of conversation for that day.

"I fear me much that thou art but as that kettle, Judah," was the remark of Goodwife Hoyt as she moved away for another bucket of sap, "mere sounding brass and a tinkling cowbell!" (Parenthetically, Mrs. Hoyt seemed to be the only member of the family opposed to Sergt. Wright.)

Roguish Sally Hoyt the younger sister of modest Mary, could not forbear a saucy fling at the lovers.

"Yea, Judah, thou art like the kettle," she said, striking it a rap with the paddle with which she was stirring its contents. But the kettle, full to the brim with syrup, failed to respond with its usual resonant ring. "Hearest thou, Sergeant? It is no more 'sounding brass' the reason thereof being that it is so filled with fire and sweetness that it can hold no more. The same being a token, brethren, as our godly pastor would say, that the heart of our beloved brother Sergeant Wright is so filled with that charity which is love, that he hath lost his proper and natural brazenfacedness, and can no more convey the knowledge of his condition to the lady of his choice than can this kettle utter the clamour which is natural unto it."

"Go thy ways for a saucy hussy," exclaimed Mary with a sudden consciousness, and with a mocking laugh the merry girl was gone. But the fat was in the fire and when Goodwife Hoyt returned with more sap, she found the syrup there too, and the Sergeant kissing the unresisting Mary behind a neighboring maple, for which wanton proceeding the good woman, since she could not banish him from her family, sent away her daughter to dwell with a distant relative, saying ere she went:

"I do prophesy that this silly affection will presently fail; so long as I have a tongue in my mouth I will speak against it, for the knowledge that I have of Sergeant Wright tendeth not to edifying."

The Sergeant did not reply verbally; but when Mary in her exile opened her Bible to the chapter containing the text which had led to a declaration, she was attracted to another which bore marginal notes in a well-known hand and which seemed to answer for him.

"Charity," which is love, "*never* faileth; but whether there be *prophecies*, they shall fail; whether there be *tongues*, they shall cease; whether there be *knowledge* it shall vanish away."

Time passed on, and one winter's night the French and Indians burst upon the little town of Deerfield, and carried it away captive. The last sight that the Sergeant caught through the open kitchen door, was of the great brass kettle which he and Mr. Hoyt had the night before filled with wort or new beer, standing by the side of Mary's ironing-board; then the blazing timbers fell over both with a deafening crash and he was marched away with pinioned arms.

The horrors of that captivity are too well known to need repetition.

Through them all Sergeant Wright, by his manly heroism and patient endurance, his care for Sally and filial devotion to Mrs. Hoyt, at last so won her unwilling heart that she was constrained to admit that the old prejudicial knowledge which she had of him had vanished away.

The efforts put forth by the French to induce the captives to remain in Canada are notorious. A young French officer having fallen in love with Sally Hoyt, a Jesuit priest endeavored to persuade her to the marriage. After a sermon from the texts Deuteronomy xxi, 10-13: "When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive, and seeing among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire that thou wouldst have her to thy wife . . . then she shall remain in thine house, and thou shalt be her husband and she shall be thy wife," and 1 Timothy, v, 14: "will, therefore that the younger women marry," &c., he addressed her personally before the congregation. Sally, remembering how her random shaft had in time past stirred up Sergeant Wright to an expression of his feeling and having in mind a bashful lover, a certain shock-headed Ebenezer Nims, more generally known as "the Nims Boy," for whom she had an inexplicable good-will, and who had been "captivated with her," as the ancient chronicle stated with more truth than it knew, answered adroitly, that she had no ill-will toward marriage as a state, but that she preferred to wed with one of her own people, and requested that "inquisition should be made" whether there were not one willing to become her husband among the captives. A cold shudder ran down Sergeant Wright's spinal column. Who could the child mean but him? Had she misinterpreted his brotherly care and affection? And yet she knew of his love for her sister. It was with a great sigh of relief that he saw "the Nims Boy" suddenly start from his seat, a timid, shrinking boy no longer but transformed on the instant by the girl's challenge to as brave a knight as ever tilted in tourney for lady's love, and running the gauntlet of friend and foe, place himself at her side.

The wily Jesuit was caught in his own toils; he acknowledged it by marrying them on the spot, and adding by way of benediction to the usual formula—"Mulier hominis confusio est."

When the younger sister marries before the elder it is the custom, in some parts of the country, to bring in the brass kettle and make the slighted one dance in it. Neither sister nor kettle was present on this occasion, but the time was not far distant when both would be found again. The captives were to be returned. Sergeant Wright had believed all along in spite of the mountains of difficulties in the way that this would be; and yet he said to himself on that homeward march, "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity," which is love, "it profiteth me nothing." And in the joy of their first meeting, the only words that Mary Hoyt could utter were: "Charity suffereth long, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; charity never faileth."

On their wedding day they visited the site of the old homestead. There, in the hollow that had been the cellar, lay the old brass kettle, and in it a flat-iron that had fallen off Mary's ironing-board. The wort with which the kettle had been filled had prevented it from entirely melting and since she could not dance in it at her sister's wedding, she was lifted in it now by her husband and danced in it at her own.

This story also tells the reason why Mary did not endure the horrors of captivity with other members of her family, she being on her visit with "distant relatives" in Hatfield. David, his wife and four children, Sarah, Jonathan, Ebenezer and Abigail were taken. Of these Ebenezer remained in Canada, Abigail was killed en route and the father, David, died of starvation on the march at or near Coos. The tragedy of orphanage and early want which came into his life at the tender age of "fowre years and eleven weekes" was more than matched by that which destroyed his home, broke up his family and ended his own life in May, 1704, at the age of 53 years.

Of the other children of David Hoyt, the oldest, Samuel, died when six years old. David, the next, fell in the "Meadow Fight" the day after his family were taken captive. Benjamin escaped captivity by hiding in a bin of grain, and finally settled in Ridgefield, Ct. Of my ancestor, Jonathan, we shall soon hear.

Interesting relics from the home of David Hoyt now having a permanent place in Memorial Hall are the Brass Kettle and Flat-iron of Mrs. Champney's story and the old Chest containing the Indian skeleton in the Indian Room. Tradition has it that the cut on the lid of this chest is the mark of an Indian tomahawk.

The fifth child, Jonathan, was my ancestor, born April 6, 1688, and to his life we now turn, pausing only long enough to say that his mother, Goodwife Hoyt, was among the redeemed captives and that she later married again and lived at Wallingford, Ct.

Jonathan was sixteen years old when taken captive, carried to Lorette, a place a few miles north of Quebec, where for about two and one-half years, he lived with the Caughnawaga Indians, learning their language. One day being

with his master in the market place in Quebec, selling vegetables, he was noticed by Major Dudley, agent for the Massachusetts Government, who bought him for 20 silver dollars and he was immediately sent by boat to Boston. A number of years after his return from captivity his old master visited him and was entertained with great hospitality, much affection being manifested on both sides. In connection with these visits made by the Indians in later years, my grandfather Richard H. Hoyt told me that upon these occasions the family tradition was that they lived in shelters constructed for them in the meadow at the north end of the Street, food being provided by those whose guests they were.

On Aug. 25, 1735, Gov. Belcher with ten members of his Council and a large delegation from the House of Representatives arrived at Deerfield to meet the Caughnawaga, Housatonic, and other Indian tribes at a grand Council-Fire for the negotiation of Treaties. This Council-Fire was built on the lot of Landlord Jonathan Hoyt, formerly his father David's, and it is quite probable that Jonathan himself may have acted as interpreter on that occasion.

On this site he kept a tavern many years after his return from captivity. To this lot he added in 1732 by purchase lot No. 5, adjoining on the north. That he had acquired quite a property, is assumed from the fact that in 1728 he was among those who agreed to loan the town £5 that a church bell might be purchased. In 1729 he was directed to act as the town's agent and purchase the "brass cock and ball for the spire of the meeting house at a price not to exceed 20£."

From Mr. Sheldon's paper on "Dwight's Journal" it is inferred that he was lame as he speaks of Lieut. Jonathan Hoyt as "shouldering his crutch." This Jonathan bore the title of Lieutenant, as did his father, David, and served during the Indian wars 1744 to 1760. He died May 23, 1779. His wife was Mary Field, who died June 26, 1780.

Concerning his six children, Mary became the wife of Ebenezer Sheldon: Abigail was twice married, first to Matthew Clesson and second to John Nims; Sarah became Mrs. John Burke of Bernardston, where in her husband's Fort she

saw a considerable share of pioneer life, although spared the atrocities of Indian warfare to which her Deerfield people had been earlier subjected: Hannah died young; while Jonathan settled at Cheapside.

The fourth child and first son was David, born Oct. 26, 1722; married first, Mercy Sheldon, and second, Silence King. He died Sept. 6, 1814. Thus David owned the Old Indian House for some years, it coming into possession of the Hoyt family about 1744. He also was a tavern keeper for many years, going by the name of "Landlord David." As everyone knows, those were the days when liquor was expected and used upon all occasions of whatsoever nature. Therefore we are not surprised to find that, among the bills for the removal of the old meeting-house spire in 1767, which had sagged, necessitating a new one, there was one from David Hoyt, for "a quart of rhum and two mugs ½ of flip" for 2s. 10d.

At this time David Hoyt's tavern was in the Old Indian House. As an offset to this charge which was in those days a perfectly legitimate one, we find the names of both David and Jonathan Hoyt as subscribers to a fund raised in 1769 to shingle the meeting-house. And while speaking of the part rum played in the early life, Sheldon gives the following:

"The same tradition [that of the Council-fire being held on the lot of Landlord Jonathan Hoyt] has preserved a single Indian word, which was repeated so often on that occasion as to be remembered 'Squawat-tuck,' meaning 'more rum' and this word probably indicated a prominent part of the proceedings."

During the earlier part of the Revolutionary War David Hoyt's tavern at the north end of the Common was known as the headquarters of the Tories, while the Whigs had theirs at Saxton's on the opposite end, or southeast corner of the Common. Added to the duties of a tavern keeper, was the trade of a "maker of wigs and foretops."

The children of David and his first wife, Mercy Sheldon, were: Hannah, afterwards Mrs. Silas Hamilton; Persis, who married John Sheldon; Jonathan of my line; Epaphras, who

died young. By the second wife, Silence King, there were: Mercy, who became Mrs. Justin Hitchcock and the mother of Rev. Edward Hitchcock, president of Amherst College; Captain David, who represented Deerfield in the Legislature; Mary, the wife of Dr. William Stoddard; Seth, only living four years; General Epaphras, a widely known author; another Seth, who died at the age of 29, unmarried; Colonel Elihu, who also became widely known; and the baby Clarissa, whose span of life was but 15 months. Appended to the death notice of David Hoyt, in the *Gazette and Courier*, is this: "He left Twelve children, 54 grand-children, 78 great-grand-children, and two of the fifth generation, a total of 146 descendants."

In my direct line, Jonathan Hoyt left a record of his life in an old account-book in wallet form which was without doubt his own handiwork, and which has always been cherished in our family. In the front, four leaves have been pinned in, upon the first of which is written, "Records. Records of the Children's births." On the third page is this:

"The Eight Day of June, 1772, Jonathan Hoit 3rd married in the 24 year of my age to Abigale Nash in the 24 year of her age." Then follows the record of the children's births, beginning with the advent of Ebenezer the 22d day of Feb., 1773, followed in succession by Patty, Elijah, Jonathan, Jr., Theodore Barnard, a second Theodore Barnard, the first one living only one month, and Gilbert, the last born July 31, 1789. On another page is given the record of the births and deaths of various members of his wife's, the Nash family, and his own birth; "Jonathan Hoit was born May 15, 1749," and here he spells his name H-o-i-t. This old wallet bears evidence of his craftsmanship, being covered with calfskin, sewn with linen thread. The pockets contain numerous slips of paper, orders, receipts, &c., one dated 1779, J. Sexton's receipt to Jonathan Hoit, 3d, and is "for the whole of his Continental & State Tax." Other receipts show his taxes for 1811 to have been $1.50, for 1812, $2.03, and for 1813, $3.55,

He made his home in "Wisdom," on the crossroad below the present West Deerfield church, leading from the upper

to lower Stillwater Road, and there under the beautiful maples which he set, until within a very few years, his old home has stood practically as he knew, and perhaps built it. Recently it has been remodelled, although retaining much of the original timber and construction.

That he was an "all-round" man, well able to assist in every kind of work is the impression gathered from his accounts. In 1782, he charges Dr. Catlin with a bucket and salt, strap and buttons, to "helping kill a hog, dressing, 2 pounds ½ flax same day." Frequent mention is made of the sale of butter, cheese and candles, loads of wood, making soap, selling beef, leather for a "Pare of Shoes," while frequent charges appear for pasturing stock. That he did errands for others in his trips abroad is evidenced by the record that he "recieved of Patty Williams Fifty dollars to Git checkt Handkerchief Silks" while for himself he was to procure "Indigo, ½ pound, ½ spice, ½ thousand pins, ½ ginger, one ounce nutmeg, castor, one ounce." On the opposite page is mentioned "cloth for jacket and britches silk neck-cloth, tea, spice, pepper, sole and upper leather, salts, white lead, butts & screws, ivery comb." Sept. 24, 1775, he notes that Lyda Scott came to spin wool and went away 22 Oct. In 1781 he sent a heifer's hide to Mr. Hawks to tan, and the next year, one sheepskin and one calfskin, and received the leather. He carted stone, sledded timber and rented out a "waggon and tacklin to go to Boston"; for the trip he received 18s. He made loam, cord and snowshoes, sawed slitwork, carted hop-poles, did plowing, worked in coalpits and gardens, sold a "pare stockins," boarded "Ezra Munn in the small pox," for which he received 6 shillings. He writes that he was inoculated for small pox, March 25, 1777, and "in 1793 Elijah, Jonathan, Theodore and Gilbert Were Inoculated for the Small Pox on March 30th."

Concerning the introduction of inoculation, Sheldon states that under authority of an Act passed July, 1776, an hospital had been established in Deerfield by the Justices of the Court, for the purpose of inoculation and that under a new law of April, 1777, it could not be continued for more than six months without leave of the town. The action taken

April 9 was short and decisive, the question passing in the negative. Inoculation was at that time a vital question, and to most people seemed a greater evil than the then prevalence of the disease. Montague went on record as decidedly opposed to the practice and urged similar attitudes on the neighboring towns, while Bernardston went further yet, and in town meeting not only refused to allow Dr. Polycarpus Cushman to remain in his own home and have the small-pox, but declined to provide a place of refuge for him.

In Deerfield there is a hint of an explanation in the warrant for the March meeting of 1793, when an article was inserted, "To see if the town will allow any hospital for Small-pox in town." Voted "No—nevertheless considering that the small-pox is already in the house Of Jonathan Hoyt, 2nd, voted that he may have liberty to inoculate his children in his own house and no others," and of this privilege he availed himself within three days. No mention is made of his two oldest children or his wife; so it is safe to assume that, if they had not already had the disease, there were one or more of them suffering from it at the time. Sheldon goes on to say that Hoyt lived in Wisdom, and although we find no evidence on record to that effect his house *may* have become a pesthouse. Some years later Lt. Joseph Barnard died of the small-pox at the pesthouse in Wisdom.

That Jonathan Hoyt acted as a carter between Deerfield and Boston, we know. In 1780 he writes that he had agreed with David Newcomb "if any money be paid in Boston it Shall be reducted out of the forty Bushels of wheat which we agreed for—for Carrying the load to and from Boston at the rate of seventy dollars a bushel." "May 20, 1781 then ballanced accounts with David Newcomb and found Due to me twenty Continental dollars." Instead of making the trip himself he sometimes let out his horse and wagon to others. For instance, on Oct. 12, 1781, to Samuel Field of Conway, for £2 7s. 6d.

About this time mention is made of carting hay and wood to Old Fort, selling axe-helves, turnips, loads of stone, "makin tacklin," grinding axes, dragging rye, mowing, and weaving, the latter perhaps done by his wife. In 1784 his

son Elijah was riding horse for plowing, harrowing, &c., and for his services his father received a shilling a day but when he furnished the horse as well as the boy, the charge was increased to "2 shillings 6d."

In 1782 he records dressing flax, 131 pounds, 35 oz. in 11 days.

At this time Justin Hitchcock was making brick, and for one pound he sold Hitchcock five loads of wood with which to burn brick. He carted brick all one day for 6 shillings, and also received the same amount for boarding Hitchcock for nine days, which would seem to indicate that Jonathan himself might have owned the brick kiln and rented it as occasion offered.

From 1780 on, he appears to have had quite a livery, as his charges were for a horse to Montague and Shelburne, one shilling each, to Petersham, five shillings. Of this branch of business he makes the following entries: "Oct. 9, 1780, I bought the Foster horse. An Account of the journeying since I had him. Seven trips to Boston, one to Hardwick, two to Northampton, one to Chesterfield, Belchertown, Wilmington, Guilford, Buckland, Ashburnham and Shelburne." In another place is noted that the trip to Chesterfield was in behalf of Jonathan Ashley, going after "pots and kettles." The future Volstead Act held no terrors for our village worthies, as he chronicles under Jack Williams's account: "Going to Northfield for a load of rum," but omits the compensation received. When he worked drawing stone from the brook, for Esquire Jones, for rainy days he charged a shilling more than in fair weather. Concerning his experiences with his horse, I give you a final item, leaving you to guess at the reason for the entry which is dated Sept. 24, 1780, and in all the formality of phrasing and arrangement of a legal document.

"Then went to Hear Mr. Parsons Preach, then took up a resolution Never to tackel the Sorrel Mare in the Waggon Again.

JONATHAN HOYT, JUN^{r}.

Attest
Abigail Hoyt."

In this next item we can place the building of the old Jonathan Ashley place, and from the dates I judge this must refer to Jonathan, born 1739, son of the Rev. Jonathan, and is the same for whom he went after the "pots and kettles." His account with Jonathan Ashley is dated 1782, and reads: "To helping you to look out for your timber for your house," and "To two plates for your House." This, it would seem, must have been the old house which now stands near the present Ashley barns.

In 1785 he made many tie-lines.

In 1789 a muster took place and Zadoc Hawks bought him "a part of a bbl. of flour, a lamb for mutton of 32 wght., a side of mutton, and a quarter of mutton for the muster." On this same bill was charged "a Hearth Stone 6 feet x 2 for your S. E. room." The whole bill came to £2 11s., of which 13s 6d. was paid in cash.

During the 1780's he began to "take care of Mr. John Williams' business," evidently working by the day, and also on special jobs like "grafting apples," "planting corn the second time," going to Brookfield after a load, and again to Wethersfield.

Under Zadoc Hawks's account in 1782 is a charge for "a fat hog small-pox time," by which we may judge that quarantine was lacking.

Jan. 27, 1784, the schoolmaster appears. For under that date he says that he "Began to teach seven Scollars."

He frequently "squared his accounts" by mending fences, repairing sleds and wagons, weaving, plowing, or turning in rye. In 1784 he appears to have more nearly approached in trade, what I have for some time suspected, that of a harness-maker, for now he is not only making "tacklin and tie-lines" but also halters, sleigh ropes and lines and oxbows. This trade was also that of a son and grandson in later years.

In August, 1790, John Ball is charged as follows: "To keeping Logan, one night. Yourself, one night and two meals, 8d. Mrs. Newton and Boy one night, 1 shilling, 4d. Keeping your cattle 3 nights 9d."

Sheldon states that Moses Eddy married in 1786 and settled at "Little Hope." Jonathan Hoyt made this entry:

"Moses Eddy's wife came Down from Hallifax & movd to Carter's Land the 9th Day of April, 1790."

"Nov. ye 17, 1786 ballanced books with Roswell Landfear, balanced Landfear's Accounts from the beginning of the World to this day."

This was near the last of the book and from it I take one more item on one of the last pages, which related probably to his Tory inclinations: "Recieved from Mr. Jonathan Hoit, Junr, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds it being for his fine agreeable to a resolve of ye General Court of June 5th, 1778.

(Signed) Joseph Stebbins,

Deerfield Captain.

June 20, 1780."

This was written in a different hand and probably by Joseph Stebbins himself.

I have drawn freely from this old book, not merely for the sake of reconstructing the life of Jonathan Hoyt but because it casts so many sidelights on others of Deerfield and the happenings of their day. In the old cemetery at Wisdom lie the remains of Jonathan and Abigail Hoit, their final resting place marked by neat slate stones. Of his possessions I have beside his account book, a fine specimen of the old-style "chest on frame," made of maple.

Of the family of Jonathan, the record is that of the average. The oldest son, Ebenezer, married and lived in Wisdom, and one of his sons, Henry, became a book publisher in Boston, well known to the older generation. Martha married Robert Field and became the grandmother of Charles R. Field, a well-known manufacturer late of Greenfield. Elijah married and eventually resided at Strongsville, Ohio, as did two of his sons. Jonathan lived in Wisdom, became the father of eight children, and among his grandchildren now living, are the Andrews brothers, Herbert, of West Deerfield, and William, who until very recently has lived on the Street at the old Hoyt place near the north end, but is now of Colrain.

The youngest son and child, Gilbert, chose Prudence

Sheldon of Bernardston for his wife, and some time after 1817 removed to western New York State. In him seems to have appeared the wanderlust which caused so much pioneering among his earlier ancestors. He was a stonecutter by trade and in the *Gazette* of April, 1814, advertises that he is continuing his business as usual one mile west of the meeting-house in Deerfield Street and that he was prepared to cut steps, underpinning, door and window sills, hearths, "Manteltrys," jambstones, backstones, sinks, watertables, &c. Because I know of no record of his family in this section, I am going to read some extracts from a letter he wrote my great-grandfather, his brother Theodore Barnard Hoyt, in Sept., 1850.

At that time he was living at Gowanda, Cattaraugus county, N. Y. "I come into this place last February and started a large shop on a small scale and have all that I can do. I am now making a new stage coach out of an old one My boys, one is in Buffalo. Edward is a Coming to this plase, next week to Live. He has taken a Saw Mill to run five years, has one Dollar pr Thousands. The mill will cut 8 Thousand Pr Day. Seth is in Buffalo is Passenger Agent, Clearing over one hundred dollrs pr month while Navigations last. John works at Carpenter and Joiner work, he has a wife and I do not know but a young Bo and Arow by this time. Seth has fore boys and one girl Ed has fore girls and one boy. Martha is among the Indians on the Cattaraugus Reservation with Missionary Wright Ann died three years last August She was delivered of two boys both Buried with her She left one little girl She dyed last January She was with Martha from her Mothers Death till she dyed herself so you see that all of Anns posterity gone with her." After messages to various members of the family he closes with this: "tell Preast Dick Field to rite if it wont trouble him to much and give me a history of all the Bow and Arrow Tribe for the last eighteen years. This from your respectfully

GILBERT HOYT."

Theodore Barnard Hoyt was my great-grandfather and lived in my father's home the first eight years of my life,

always going by the name of "Great-grandpa" in distinction from his son Richard who also lived with father, and whom we children always called "Little Grandpa," for to childish minds, if one was "great" the other must be "small." Ever after my remembrance of great-grandfather was in a wheel chair as a result of what used to be known as "Rheumatism," and all the family pictures show him with crutches. As a young man, he learned the saddler's and harnessmaker's trade, doubtless from his father, and this he always followed until increasing infirmity compelled retirement from active life. He was born in 1786, in Wisdom, went to Bernardston in 1815, the year of his marriage to Sophia Whipple of Brattleboro, Vt. His account books I also have, and they show him to have been, like his father, equal to the many demands made upon him outside his trade, the demands being modified by the increasing development of the country. Before the present Powers Institute buildings were erected in Bernardston, Theodore Hoyt owned the lot whereon they stand, built thereon a house and dug the well at its southwest corner, and the well is still in use. That he was a man of strong religious convictions, and a strict disciplinarian, is evidenced by letters of his still in existence. In his last years he spent much of his time in reading the Bible, which with the newspapers was all that I ever recall seeing him read. His was a useful, quiet life, spent in daily service for his family and townspeople. Of his four children, the eldest was Harriett, who lived 14 years; the next, Richard Henry, my grandfather, whom some of you may recall; Mariette, the third child, married Thomas Williams Ashley, of Deerfield. She only lived five years after marriage, and with her little one is laid in your Laurel Hill Cemetery. The youngest son, Jonathan, eventually went to Davenport, Ia., grew up with the city, and became a prominent, influential business man, having in his day the largest wholesale and retail music business west of Chicago. He was twice married, but left no children.

My grandfather, Richard Henry Hoyt, learned the harnessmaker's trade of his father, and followed it for fifty years. He married Hannah Adeline, daughter of Lucius P. Chapin,

and a descendant of one of the first settlers of Bernardston through that Caleb Chapin who lost his life at Lake George in the Indian Wars, and his son, Caleb, who served as Captain in the Revolution. It was always characteristic of both these grandparents that they could do anything with their hands (as did all of the earlier Hoyts), both people of great resourcefulness and ability. I well remember in childhood, before the days of nurses and undertakers, the services of Grandfather and Grandmother Hoyt were in great demand, and freely given, in the care for the sick and the dead. For their cheerful, sunny dispositions I can give no better warrant than to tell you that they began their married life with a family consisting of an aged grandfather and aunt, beside my Hoyt grandparents. They never knew a home of their own in the real sense, for ever after my mother's marriage, she being the one of their two children living, their home and hers were one, and for nearly all the time from their marriage in 1844 until my mother's death in 1925 four generations, most of the time under one roof, have been the rule; and it is a family life, the memory of which I regard as a sacred, treasured inheritance.

Richard Hoyt was, I think, sent from Bernardston to Deerfield for schooling and for a short time also to Brattleboro. Religious training was of the strict orthodox type of his parents' generation, and although a constant attendant upon those religious services during his younger years, he never became a church member, and the last of his life he enjoyed the services of the Unitarian church. He took his place in the civic life of Bernardston, serving as selectman from 1866 to 1872, and in 1878 represented his district in the Legislature. To his crippled father he gave the best of his manhood, in unremitting care and attention. His interest in and memory of all things historical were remarkable, and to his retentive memory I am indebted for much of value, while his readiness and pleasure in accompanying me on many trips in research work were ever a source of inspiration. To some of you here present he is known, and I feel sure that all such will join me in this tribute to his memory. A *Gentleman*, in each and every sense of the word.

Of the collateral Hoyts, Gen. Epaphras, Col. Elihu, Henry K. and others, you have heard in former years, and from those whose knowledge of them exceeded mine. To-night this record will have told you of some of the lesser known members of the family. Thus

> "Echoing down the shadowy aisle, in solemn awe we hear
> Records of many a noble life, without reproach or fear,
> Spent in a simple sacrifice to quiet homely duty,
> By courage and devotion, graced with rare and radiant beauty."

ECONOMIC REGULATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS ON PERSONAL LIBERTY IN EARLY MASSACHUSETTS (1630–75).

BY PROFESSOR JOHN DICKINSON OF ASHFIELD.

The classic definition of the so-called "police-power" of the State is that given by Chief Justice Shaw in the case of Commonwealth v. Alger, where he described it as "the power to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, statutes and ordinances . . . for the good and welfare of the commonwealth, and of the subjects of the same." [1] It is appropriate that this definition should have proceeded from a Massachusetts court, since nowhere has there been a better exhibition of the widest and freest use of this power, untrammelled by any constitutional limitations, than in early Massachusetts.

The idea of "laissez faire,"—the idea that individuals should be let alone to think their thoughts and spend their time, to get drunk or remain sober, to bargain, buy and sell, to charge what prices and make what goods they please, to work or idle or gamble according to their unrestrained abilities and desires, well- or ill-directed as these chance to be, without the intervention of the organized community in the form of governmental regulation,—this idea marks a recent phase in the history of human relations. It is an

[1] Commonwealth v. Alger, 7 Cushing, p. 53 (1851).

idea which was in a sense forced on the nineteenth century by the vast transformations which then so suddenly swept over all departments of human action, through the discovery and utilization of machinery, of the steam engine and electricity, and which wrecked most of the old folkways and wrought a havoc of social confusion like that prevailing at a fire or earthquake, where all that can be wisely done is to let each individual look out for himself and scramble out of the débris as best he can. The same result has been promoted also by the great increase which during the past few centuries has taken place in the size of the unit of political action, resulting in the creation of such enormous political areas as the United States at the present day. Within such an area the network of human relations is so complicated and confused, the strands of cause and effect are so hard to discover, the social and economic forces at work are so powerful and intangible, that it seems futile to all but the most daring spirits to hope to exert any practical influence upon them, or to shape the multitudinous welter of their activity into any pattern of order, by consciously directed political action. We are stunned by the magnitude of the task, and take refuge in the fatalism of "laissez faire."

To the student of political science there is hardly a more striking difference between the new world of today and the old world which lies on the other side of the introduction of machinery than the way in which that older world seems to have been permeated by a sense of community, by a feeling of the common organization of society for group action.

This greater nearness of society to the individual may in part be accounted for by the small size of many states before the industrial age. This is particularly true, for instance, of the city states of ancient Greece, of the Italian cities during the Middle Ages, and of the New England colonial states of the seventeenth century. Ancient Athens or Sparta and seventeenth-century Massachusetts contained not very many thousand individuals, like-minded to a high degree, having a common heritage and traditions, actuated by a strong sense of common purpose, and living close together in a comparatively compact territory. Such a state is a

community in a quite different sense from the great political units of the modern world. The common affairs of such a community are very real because very obvious and apparent to the members. The possibilities and need of common action are patent. Some of us today, accustomed to the isolation of large cities, object to living in a village because we say that in a small community what is one person's business is everybody's business. There is necessarily a limitation of privacy. This is the human tendency which was at work in the Greek cities and in colonial New England. The community was present to the eye of the individual; and the community in a social and human sense coincided with the political unit, or state. Community action therefore took naturally and inevitably the form of political action; and political action thus received a cogency and meaning for the individual which it too often fails to have when expressed in the abstract form of a law or regulation issued from a capital a thousand or more miles away.

There is accordingly a modern tendency to distrust the effectiveness of political action to deal with social and economic problems. But in simple and self-contained communities, whether in ancient Greece or mediæval Italy or colonial New England, men will somehow not believe that they have not in their own hands the ability to deliberately readjust the conditions of their community life by exerting the power of the community to eliminate what they feel to be bad and to establish or confirm what they look upon as good. In such communities there seems to be no more doubt of this power of the community to shape its own social and economic life by conscious voluntary regulation than there is doubt today of men's power to change the course of a stream or to drive a tunnel under the surface of the earth. This assurance and this confidence in the effectiveness of laws and regulations were strong in the minds of the lawmakers of early Massachusetts.

At the beginning of its history Massachusetts as a whole, and the town communities which at once began to grow up within its limits, were dominated by a vivid community spirit. We must remember, to begin with, that Massachu-

setts was settled by communities rather than by individuals. The settlers came in groups, sometimes in whole parishes and congregations, in pursuit of an object which was essentially a group object, namely, the right to worship and live together under God, rather than as individuals thinking primarily of making their separate fortunes. And the same thing was true of the settlement of the earlier towns, after the immigrants had landed, and when they looked about for a place of permanent habitation. The settlement of the towns throughout New England was effected by groups. "Each group was moved by an impulse which was shared at the outset by all or nearly all its members. Incongruous elements might later creep in, but as a rule they were carefully excluded." [1] We must avoid the temptation to think of the settlement of New England, at least during the seventeenth century, in terms of the individual pioneering with which we are familiar in connection with the opening up of the great West during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In early Massachusetts pioneering was effected not by isolated and adventurous trappers and husbandmen, but by social groups which were first and foremost religious congregations, and which from the political standpoint were organized into towns.

I

Of the New England town as a religious association so much has been written that there is no need here for more than mention of it; equally significant is its less familiar aspect as a fellowship or association for economic purposes. It is not always emphasized as it should be that the New England town was in some respects a common economic venture, indeed almost a partnership, by virtue of the basic factor underlying the economic life of the colony, the system of land allotment and tenure. Original title to all land in Massachusetts was vested in the Massachusetts Bay Company; but by the Township Act of 1636 the General Court delegated to the towns the right of distributing the land

[1] H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the 17th Century*, I, p. 425.

within their boundaries. For this reason and in this way much of the land in the colony came to be granted to towns, that is to say to groups or communities of settlers, for subsequent allotment to individuals. The grants to towns were made by the General Court in large tracts, six miles square or more, from which the town community then proceeded to make allotments to its existing members, reserving the surplus as "common land" for later distribution or for new inhabitants. Each town thus became perforce a close economic community with a direct economic interest in admitting or excluding new members. The feeling of solidarity which resulted is illustrated by an order made by the town of Watertown in 1638 to the effect that no one of the townsmen should sell or alienate his lot on the so-called "towne plott,"—"it being," as the order continues, "our reall intent to sitt down there close together." [1] To substantially the same effect was an earlier order made by the town meeting of Cambridge, December 5, 1636:

"It is ordered that noe man Inhabiting or not Inhabiting within the bowndes of the towne shall lett or sell anie howse or Land unto anie without the consent of the townsmen then in place unlesse it be to a member of the congregation & least anie one Shall sustaine losse therebie they shall come & proffer the same unto them upon a day of ye monthly meeting & att such a Rate as he Shall not sell or lett for a lesser pryce unto anie than he offereth unto them & to leave the same in there handes in lyking untill the next Meeting daye in the next month when if they Shall not take it paying the pryce within some convenient time or provyde him a chapman he shall then be free to sell or lett ye same unto anie other provyded the townsmen think them fitt to be received in." [2]

Similar orders were passed by Boston in 1635,[3] by Springfield [4] in 1638, by Braintree in 1641,[5] by Rowley in 1660,[6] and

[1] *Watertown Records*, p. 4.

[2] *Records of Town and Selectmen of Cambridge*, p. 24.

[3] Benton, *Warning Out*, p. 19.

[4] Green, *History of Springfield*, pp. 48, 49.

[5] Bates, *Braintree Town Records*, p. 2. [6] Gage, *History of Rowley*, p. 140.

doubtless by other towns. The religious motive for such regulations appears from an agreement signed by the settlers of Medfield in 1650:

"Forasmuch as for the further promulgation of the Gospell the subdueing of this part of the earth amongst the races given to the Sonns of Adam & the enlargement of the bounds of the habitation formerly designed by God to som of his people in this wilderness it hath pleased the Lord to move and direct (etc.) . . . We shall all of us in the said Towne faithfully endeavor that only such be receaved to our Society and Township as we may have Sufficient Satisfaction in, that they ar honest, peaceable & free from Scandall and eronious opinions." [1]

So at Dedham the town covenant signed by the first settlers in 1636 provided:

"We engage by all means to keep off from our company such as shall be contrary minded, and receive only such into our Society as will in a meek and quiet spirit promote its temporal and spiritual good." [2]

In the town records of Watertown someone at a later date noted under the order above referred to, that it was without effect because of the absence of a penalty. This was not, however, the case at Boston, where on June 6, 1636, an order of the selectmen is recorded as follows:

"Wee finde that Richard Fairbancks hath solde unto twoe straingers the twoe houses in Sudbury that were William Balstones, contrary to a former order, and therefore the sayle to be voyd and the said Richard Fairbancks to forfeite for his breaking thereof xls. Wee finde that Isaacke Cullymore Carpenter hath sould his house unto a strainger, contrary to the same order, and therefore the sayle thereof to bee voyd, and the said Isaacke Cullymore to forfeit for his breaking thereof xls." [3]

Perhaps the difficulty of enforcing the order is evidenced by successive increases in the amount of the fine imposed for its breach, reaching the figure of £6 in February, 1638.[4] Amusing reasons are sometimes recorded for refusal to grant

[1] Benton, *Warning Out*, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

an application for settlement. Thus at Salem in 1636 Debora Holmes was refused an allotment of land because she was a maid, and "it would be a bad president to keep hous alone." [1] At Dedham a town order provided for the appointment of a committee to examine into the character and motives of applicants for admission and make report of their inquiries to the town.[2]

The early records of the towns are full of instances where fines were levied for unauthorized entertainment of strangers, and the strangers ordered to depart. Even after the social and religious cohesion of the town-communities had begun to break down, as it rapidly did, this inhospitable attitude toward newcomers persisted because of the fear that if they were allowed to settle in the town they might become a public charge. Thus was inaugurated the peculiar New England custom of "warning out," which survived until the end of the eighteenth century, and which has been elaborately studied Mr. J. H. Benton's interesting book, *Warning Out in New England, 1656–1817* (Boston, W. B. Clarke Co., 1911). In the earlier period another motive doubtless making against the reception of new inhabitants was the unwillingness of those who were already townsmen to admit new-comers to a share in the use and later distribution of the common lands not yet allotted. This motive appears in a town-order of Boston passed May 18, 1648, which provided against the danger by enacting that no one who should thereafter come to be an inhabitant in the town should have "right of commanage unless he hier it of them that are commoners." [3] In Dorchester on January 18, 1635, it was ordered that "all the hoame lots within Dorchester plantation which have been granted before this present day shall have right to the commons and no other lots that are graunted hereafter to be commoners." [4] This difficulty was obviated in the case of the later-settled towns where the original grant of land was not to the town community as such but to a group of specified individuals as "proprietors," from whom land had, of course, to be acquired by newcomers by purchase.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Boston Town Records, 1634–1660*, p. 88.
[4] *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 14.

Not merely was the early Massachusetts town in this way a close landowning corporation with what may be described as a power to blackball candidates for membership, but it was also to some extent a joint operating company in the use and tillage of the land, allotted and unallotted. The holdings in which land was in most instances distributed to the early settlers cannot be called farms in the sense in which we use the term. Men were often allotted twenty acres here and ten acres there and some meadow in one place and a piece of swamp or woodland in another. One instance will suffice. The Proprietors' Book of Watertown, which inventories the holdings of each townsman, commences with a list of the holdings of Edward How the elder, who had seventeen parcels of land. His inventory begins with a "home-stall" and includes upland, plowland, land on the hither plain, meadow in the remote meadows, upland beyond the further plain, etc.

The first allotment to the settlers was always of home-lots, or "home-stalls," for dwellings, which were clustered together and became the nucleus of the typical New England village. This fact in itself is sufficient to establish the difference between the holdings of a Massachusetts colonist and a modern farmer. The modern farmer lives on his farm; the early settler in Massachusetts lived in the village. The necessities of defence may account to some extent for this arrangement; but it is much more probably explained by the English system of landholding and cultivation in which the first settlers had grown up, and from which they borrowed not merely the system of scattered allotments and the practice of living together in villages, but also the so-called "common-field" system of tillage. The "common fields" must be distinguished from the common land of the town,—i. e., the land still unallotted and available for future distribution to individuals. The common fields consisted of strips or parcels which were already under individual ownership, but which were tilled or managed in common by the owners. This represents a survival of the old mediæval agricultural practice which apparently prevailed in many Massachusetts towns down to at least the first quarter of the eighteenth

century. The management of these fields was primarily in the hands of the particular group of townsmen who owned the land included within their borders; but the difficulties to which such common management inevitably gave rise led to the intervention of the town authorities and opened the way to what we should no doubt regard today as radical governmental interference with private rights. The extent to which this interference could go is indicated by the act of the General Court of 1643 concerning the management of common fields. The act reads as follows:

"Whereas it is found by experience that there hath been much trouble and difference in several towns about the manner of planting, sowing, and feeding of common corne fields, and that upon serious consideration wee finde no generall order can provide for the best improvement of every such common ffield, by reason that some consist only of plowing ground, some having a great part fit only for planting, some of meadows and feeding ground; also so that such an order as may bee very wholesome and good for one field may be exceeding priudiciall and inconvenient for another,—it is therefore ordered that, when the commoners cannot agree about the manner of improvement of their field, either concerning the kind of grains that shall be sown or set therein, or concerning the time or manner of feeding the herbage thereof, that three such persons in the severall townes that are deputed to order the prudential affaires thereof, shall order the same, or in case where no such are, then the maior part of the freemen, who are hereby enioyned with what convenient speed they may determine any such difference as may arise upon any information given them by the said commoners." [1]

In other words, the selectmen or a majority of the town-meeting were empowered to prescribe the nature of the crops to be grown on the common fields, and the time and methods of planting and cultivation. To the modern eye this looks very like what we are in the habit of calling socialism; actually it was only a historical survival quickened into

[1] *Massachusetts Colonial Records* (ed. N. B. Shurtleff, 5 vols. in 6, Boston, 1853–54), II, p. 49.

new life by the close economic community of interest and by the necessities of life in a pioneer New England town.

Another form of town interference with private economic activity traceable to some of the same causes, was the compulsory requirement that the townsmen should put their cattle into one or more common herds under a keeper employed by the town. The same rule was applied to swine and goats. This step does not seem to have been due primarily to tradition, but was forced upon the colonists by the pressure of existing circumstances, and was only taken after other expedients had been tried and failed. It was not adopted at Watertown until 1669. The order of the selectmen putting it into effect recites:

"The select-men; beinge informed; & Complayned unto: that the inhabitance are not able to come into any orderly way for the heardinge of theire Cattell: by reason that: many doe pretent to keepe their Cattell with private keepers: others drive thire Cattell sumtimes over the water att the mill; and els wheare; others turne their Cattell loose; knowing they will Feede upon Cambridge bounds; to the Just offence of our Neighbours; whose love & respect we much prise; others that live near the Feede: are not willing to heard: nor pay to any heardsman: and others: though willing to heard with their neighbors: for some time: but not willinge to pay for the whole time: they not improueinge the the heardsman one quarter of the time: by reason of which inconveniencies: no pt of the town can Comfortably agree to keepe a hearde; or to propose any raynge for thire heard to Feed upon: all which to pvent: it is ordered: That theare shall be but three heards kept in the towne—& privatt heards—men & Cattell goeinge at randume are hearby restrayned: & shall pay the Fine that is sett for Cattell: that goe without any keeper." [1]

The herdsmen were to be paid by the owners of the cattle and were to keep their herds in a range set up by the selectmen in the same order. The fine placed upon private herds made participation in the common herd practically compulsory. Later the number of herds was changed to four, but the fine for stray cattle was reënacted and more careful

[1] *Watertown Records*, pp. 94–95.

rules for its enforcement were made.[1] This system of caring for the cattle evidently proved so satisfactory that in January, 1679 (80), when rules restricting the number of sheep were made, a provision calling for two common flocks was accepted by the town.[2]

The prevalence of this practice of common herding is illustrated by the fact that it existed in Deerfield, a town not settled until after some of the closeness of common economic interest which characterized the earliest settlements had already begun to dissolve. At Deerfield the milch cows were herded under the care of a "cow-keeper" hired by the town. His wages were assessed on the owners of the cows. A common bull was also maintained and furnished at the expense of the town.[3]

Deerfield yields other examples of town-action to promote and regulate economic activity. Thus, in order to introduce an essential industry, a contract was made by the town with a miller, granting him land in consideration of his erecting and operating a grist mill; and his schedule of charges was strictly regulated by the terms of the contract, which provided that his toll for grinding should be the twelfth part of all grain except wheat and barley malt, and only the fourteenth part of wheat, and the eighteenth part of barley malt.[4] But not merely were the rates of what might be regarded as a public utility regulated in this way,—Deerfield went further, and following the general practice among the Massachusetts towns of the seventeenth century, fixed the price at which staple products like wheat and corn would be received for taxes, and occasionally even the price at which they were to be bought and sold between man and man.[5] Wages were also regulated. Summarizing the interference of the town as the organized community in almost every depart-

[1] *Watertown Records*, pp. 98–99.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146. For the town herd at Cambridge see *Records of the Town and Selectmen of Cambridge, 1630–1703* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 19 (1635), p. 30 (1638), p. 72 (1647), etc.; for Salem see *Records of the Town of Salem* in Essex Institute Historical Collections, XLI, p. 122 (1667); XLIII, p. 42 (1672).

[3] Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, I, p. 268.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

ment of the simple life of the time, George Sheldon has written:

"The 'Town' acted on all matters pertaining to the welfare of the community: divided the land, built fortifications, meetinghouses, schoolhouses, ferry-boats, and pounds; hired the minister and schoolmaster; chose military officers, laid out highways and graveyards; levied rates, prescribed the specie in which it should be paid, and fixed its price; fixed the price of grain betwixt man and man, and the price of labor; looked after the common field, the fences and the stock; fixed the time for opening and closing the meadows; regulated the building of mills and settled the tolls for grinding and sawing; . . . enforced attendance on divine worship and its own town-meetings." [1]

Compulsory attendance at town-meetings seems to have been common in the seventeenth-century towns and a fine for absence was levied by the selectmen.[2] At Cambridge there was also compulsory attendance at the common dinner served on these occasions, as provided in the following order of September 20, 1648:

"It is ordered that there shalbe an eight peny ordinary provided for the Townsmen every second Munday of the month upon there meeting day . . . the charges of ye diner shalbe payd by the Cunstables out of the Towne stocke." [3]

At Salem the holding of public office was also compulsory, and we learn that Jacob Barney was "fined 50s for Refusinge to serve in the place of a Constable being formerly legally chosen." [4]

For the multitudinous duties of the town a multitudinous array of town officers was needed—fence-viewers, hay-wards, hog-ringers, a clerk of the market, a sealer of weights and measures, a scaler of leather, packers, surveyors of hemp and flax, surveyors of wheat and flour, surveyors of clapboards,

[1] Sheldon, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 207.

[2] For such an order see *Town Records of Salem, 1634–1659* Essex Institute Historical Collections, IX, p. 179. See also *Records of the Town and Selectmen of Cambridge, 1630–1703*, p. 138.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[4] Town Meeting, Sept. 10, 1668, *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XLI, p. 138.

cullers of brick, cullers of shingles, cullers of lumber, in addition to better-known officials such as the selectmen, the assessors, the collector and the school-committee.[1] The selectmen were often more numerous than at present, as at Watertown, where in the early years of the town they numbered eleven. In addition to all these officials there were the "tithingmen," whose special function was to enforce laws and ordinances against "tipling," gambling, waste of time, and unlicensed liquor selling.[2] Of these there were no less than fifteen in Watertown in 1679.[3] When the number of these officials is compared with the scanty population at the time, our so-called modern bureaucracy of regulatory officials, of whose vastness we hear so much complaint, pales into insignificance.

II.

So far reference has been made only to the town governments; but the central government of the colony engaged in practically all the varieties of regulation and control practiced by the towns and in other fields besides. This is natural in view of the comparatively small size of the colony in its early years and the closeness of interest and sympathy which bound the incipient towns together. Early Massachusetts was regarded by its ruling spirits as a great family of God's people whose affairs were to be regulated and fostered by the wise providence of the magistrates. In the sphere of economic regulation the interference of the colonial government was continued and insistent.

Almost the first order of a properly legislative character adopted by the colony government was a wage-fixing order passed at the first Court of Assistants, August 23, 1630:

"It was ordered that carpenters joyners brickelayers sawers and thatchers shall not take above 2s a day, nor any man give more under paine of Xs to taker & giver and that sawers shall not take above 4s—6d ye hundred for boards att 6 scoore to the hundred, if they have their wood felled and

[1] Sheldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 207.

[2] Act of General Court, October 15, 1679, *Mass. Col. Records*, V, pp. 240–241.

[3] *Watertown Records*, p. 144.

squared & not above 5s—6d if they fell and square their wood themselves." [1]

At the third Court of Assistants, held September 28, 1630, it was ordered that:

"No maister carpenter mason joyner or brickelayer shall take above 16d a day for their work if they have meat and drinke, & the second sort not above 12d a day under payne of Xs both to giver and receaver . . . Labourers shall not take above 12d a day for their worke, & not above 6d & meate & drinke under paine of Xs." [2]

The wage-fixing provisions of these orders were repealed March 23, 1631:

"Whereas the wages of Carpenters Joyners & other artificers and workmen were by order of court restrayned to particular sommes, (they) shall nowe be lefte free and att libertie as men shall reasonably agree." [3]

But the regulatory policy was later resumed in a much more comprehensive order adopted October 1, 1633:

"It is ordered that maister Carpenters, Sawers, masons clapboard-ryvers bricklayers tylars joyners wheelwrights mowers etc., shall not take above 2s a day findeing themselves dyett & not above 14d a day if they have dyett found them under the penalty of Vs both to giver and receaver for every day that there is more given & receaved also that all other inferior workmen of the said occupacions shall have such wages as the Constable of the said place & 2 other inhabitants that he shall chuse shall appoynct, also it is agreed that the best sorte of labourers shall not take above 18d a day if they dyett themselves & not above 8d a day if they have dyett found them under the aforesaid penalty both to giver and receaver, likewise that the wages of inferior labourers shalbe referd to the Constable & 2 other as aforesaid. Maister Taylours shall not take above 12d a day & the inferior sorte not above 8d if they be dyeted under the aforesaid penalty & for all other worke they doe att home pro-

[1] *Records of the Court of Assistants, 1630–1692*, ed. John Noble, Vol. II, *1630–1644* (Boston, 1904), p. 3. The rate for boards was later raised to 12d. a score where the wood was felled and squared and 7s. the hundred when the sawers did the felling and squaring. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

porcionably & soe for other worke that shalbe done by the greate or by any other artificer. further it is ordered that all workemen shall worke the whole day alloweing convenient time for foode and rest." [1]

In the next month the following order was passed:

"Whereas by order of Court holden in October last the Wages of Workemen were reduced to a certainety in regard of the greate extorcion used by dyvers persons of little conscience & the greate disorder which grewe hereupon by vaine and idle waste of much precious tyme & expence of those imoderate gaynes in Wyne strong water & other superfluities, nowe least the honest & conscionable workemen should be wronged or discouraged by excessive prises of those comodityes which are necessary for their Life & comfort; Wee have thought it very iust & equall to sett order therein: Wee doe therefore hereby order that after publique notice hereof noe persons shall sell to any of the Inhabitants within this Jurisdiccion any provision cloathinge, Tooles, or other Comodities above the rate of ffoure pence in a shillinge more than the same cost or might be bought for ready money in England Upon paine of forefeiting the valewe of the things solde (except Cheese which in regard of the much hazard in bringing & Wyne Oyle Vinegar and stronge Waters which in regard of leakeing may be solde at such rates (provided the same be moderate) as the buyer & Seller can agree). And for Lynnen & other Comodities which in regard of their close stowage & small hazard may be afforded att a Cheap rate wee doe advise all men to be a rule to themselves in keeping a good Conscience assuring them that if any man shall exceede the bounds of moderacion wee shall punish them severely." [2]

These orders were repealed at the General Court of September 2d, 1635, and in their place was substituted legislation which was incorporated into the codes of 1660 and 1672 and thus remained in force to the end of the Charter government. The new legislation provided that:

"Whereas two former lawes, the one concerneing the wages of workemen, the other concerning the prises of Commodyties were for dyvers good consideracions repealed this present

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

[2] Nov. 8, 1633. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Court, nowe for avoydeing such mischiefes as may followe thereupon by such ill disposed persons as may take liberty to oppresse & wronge their Neighbours by taking excessive wages for worke or unreasonable prises for such necessary merchandizes or other commodyties as shall passe from man to man, it is therefore nowe ordered yt if any man shall offend in any of the said cases against the true intent of this lawe, hee shalbe punished by ffine or imprisonment according to the quallity of the offence as the Court upon lawfull tryall & conviccion shall adiudge." [1]

In the following year [2] the power of fixing workmen's wages was delegated to the towns by a statute which was also carried forward in substance into the codes of 1660 and 1672:

"It is ordered that the freemen of every towne shall, from time to time, as occation shall require, agree amongst themselves about the prices and rates of all workemen laborers and servants wages; & evry other person inhabiting in any towne whether workeman laborer or servant shalbee bound to the same rates which the said freemen or the greater parte shall bind themselves unto; & whosever shall exceede shalbee punished by the Court (of that shire) [3] according to the quality & measure of the offence. And if any towne shall have cause of complaint against the freemen of any other towne for alowing greater rates or wages than themselves, the Quarter Courte at Boston or the Governor & Counsell [4] (changed to 'the County Court of that Shire' in the Code of 1660) shall, from time to time, set order therein." [5]

By an Act of 1641 servants and workmen were required to receive their wages in corn: and

"for the price, if the parties cannot agree, the corne is to be valewed by 2 indifferent freemen to bee chosen the one by the master, the other by the servant or workman (who are

[1] *Mass. Colonial Records* I, p. 160; *Laws of 1660*, tit. "Oppression," p. 63 (ed. Whitmore, Boston, 1889, p. 183); Laws of 1672, tit. "Oppression," p. 120 (ed. Whitmore, Boston, 1887, p. 120). References hereafter to the Laws of 1660 and 1672 will be to Whitmore's editions.

[2] Oct. 28, 1636, *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 183.

[3] *Laws of 1660* p. 174.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Mass. Col. Records*, p. I, 183.

to have respect to the valewe of the work or service); and if they cannot agree, then a third man is to bee chosen by the next magistrate, or if no magistrate bee in the towne, then by the next cunstable." [1]

This enactment was also carried over into the Codes of 1660 [2] and 1672.[3]

In 1675, apparently owing to "profiteering" in connection with King Philip's War, the law regarding excessive prices for merchandise, as well as excessive wages, was strengthened:

"Whereas there is Oppression in the midst of us, not only by Such Shopkeepers and Merchants who set excessive prises on their Goods, but also by Mechanicks and Day Labourers, who are daily guilty of that evil, For redress wherof and as an addition to the Law, it is Ordered, that any person that Judgeth himself Oppressed by Shop keepers or Merchants in setting Excessive prizes on their goods have hereby liberty to make their Complaint to the Grand Jurors, or otherwise by Petition to the County Court immediately, who shall send for the person accused, and if the Court upon Examination judge the person complaining injured, they shall cause the offender to return double the overplus, or more then the equal price, to the injured person, and also impose a Fine on the offender at the discretion of the Court, and if any person judge himself Oppressed by Mechanicks or Day Labourers, they may make their complaint thereof to the Select Men of the Town, who if upon Examination do find such Complaint just, having respect to the quality of the Pay and the length or shortness of the Day Labour, they shall cause the Offender to make double Restitution to the party injured, and pay a fine of double the value exceeding the due price." [4]

In addition to this policy of regulating wages and prices by law, the colony government frequently sought to provide against temporary scarcity, as well as to render itself economically, independent, by a policy of prohibiting exports and imports. Thus from 1649 [5] to 1656 [6] the export of mares

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 340.
[2] *Laws of 1660*, p. 174.
[3] *Laws of 1672*, p. 105.
[4] *Mass. Col. Records*, V, pp. 62–63.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 280.
[6] *Ibid.*, IV, pt. 1, p. 277.

was forbidden; after 1646 hides might not be exported unless previously tanned.[1] In 1655 a drastic policy of import prohibitions was adopted.

"The Court, taking into their serious consideracion the great necessitje of upholding the staple comoditjes of this countrje for the supply and support of the inhabitants thereof, & finding by experjence that the bringing in of maulte, wheate, barly, bisket, beife, meale and flower, which are the princippal comoditjes of this countrje, from faraigne parts, to be exceeding prejudjcijall to the Subsistance of this place and people here, have therefore ordered that no person whatsoever either inhabitant or straunger shall, directly or indirectly after the first of March next import into this jurisdiccion from any part of Europe any of the aforesajd provissions under poenalty of confiscation of the same (except it be for the Shipps provision) that shall be so imported." [2]

This enactment became part of the Codes of 1660 [3] and 1672.[4] In 1672 malt was removed from the list.[5] In 1675 during King Philip's War the export of provisions was forbidden "considering the great danger of a famine." [6] In 1678 the prohibition was repealed.[7]

The close supervision of economic processes and practices which characterized the policy of mediæval towns was carried forward in Massachusetts. The method of packing beef, pork and fish for sale was prescribed by law [8] and each town was required to have an official packer.[9] The same provisions were later extended to sturgeon.[10] The price of beer [11] and the formulas for its manufacture were prescribed by law,[12] as well as the weight, size and price of bread.[13] There

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, II, p. 168.
[2] Act of Nov. 13, 1655, *Mass. Col. Records*, IV, pt. 1, p. 246.
[3] *Laws of 1660*, p. 175.
[4] *Laws of 1672*, p. 106.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Mass. Col. Records*, V, p. 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[8] *Ibid.*, IV, pt. 1, pp. 39, 40.
[9] *Laws of 1660*, pp. 9–10.
[10] Acts of May 7, 1673, in *Laws of 1672*, p. 209.
[11] *Mass. Col. Records*, IV, pt. 1, p. 151.
[12] *Ibid.*, IV, I, p. 59; *Laws of 1660*, p. 126; *Laws of 1672*, pp. 10–11.
[13] *Ibid.*, II, p. 180 (1646); *Laws of 1660*, p. 124.

was an assize of pipestaves, used in making casks.[1] The tanning of leather was regulated and the technical processes prescribed, and every town was required to have two official searchers and viewers of leather tanned within its bounds.[2] A beginning was made toward adopting the mediæval system of organizing craftsmen into guilds. In 1648 the shoemakers of Boston were authorized to incorporate with a master and wardens and other officials "for the well governing of their company." [3] At the same time the Boston coopers were incorporated.[4] In order to protect the tanning trade, butchers and shoemakers were forbidden to tan hides, and no one except a tanner was allowed to buy raw-hides.[5] On the other hand, the need for a seasonal supply of farm labor in the towns was met by a provision that craftsmen might be impressed by constables for service in the harvest fields:

"Because ye harvest of hay, corne, flax & hemp comes usually so neare together yt much losse can hardly be avoyded, it is ordered & decreed by ye Courte yt ye cunstable of evry toune, upon request made to you, shall require artificers or handicraftsmen, meete to labor, to worke by ye day for their neighbors needing ym, in mowing, reaping & inning thereof, & yt those whom they help shall duely pay ym for their worke, & if any person so required shall refuse, or ye cunstable neglect his office herein, they shall each of ym pay to ye use of ye pore of ye town double so much as such a dayes worke comes unto; provided no artificer etc., shalbe compelled to worke for others whiles he is necessarily attending on like business of his owne." [6]

These are scattered instances which serve to indicate the type of regulation that was commonplace. A more extreme type of regulation is illustrated by the Act of 1656 for compulsory spinning which was designed to compel the employment of leisure time in useful and productive activity. The act reads as follows:

"It is ordered by this Court and the authritje thereof,

[1] *Laws of 1672*, p. 184.
[2] *Mass. Col. Records*, II, pp. 18–19 (1642); *Laws of 1660*, pp. 168–170.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 249.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

that all hands not necessarily implojde on other occasions, as weomen, girles and boyes, shall and hereby are enjoyned to spinn according to theire skills and abillitje; and that the selectmen in every towne doe consider the condicion and capacitje of every family, and accordingly to assesse them at one or more spinners; & because severall familyes are necessarily implojd the greatest part of theire tjme in other buisnes, yet, if opportunityis were attended, some time might be spared at large by some of them for this worke, the sajd selectmen shall therefore assess such familyes at half or a quarter of a spinner, according to theire capacitjes; secondly, that every one thus assessed for a whole spinner doe, after this present yeare, 1656, spinn, for thirty weekes every yeare, three pounds per weeke of lining, cotton, or woollen, & so proportionably for half or quarter spinners, under the poenaltje of twelve pence for every pound short; and the selectmen shall take speciall care for the execution of this order, which may easily be effected by dividing theire severall townes into tenn, six, five, and to appoint one of the tenn, six, or five to take an account of theire divicion, and to certify the selectmen if any are defective in what they are assessed, who shall improove the aforesaid poenaltjes imposed upon such as are negligent, for the encouragement of those that are diligent in theire labour." [1]

This enactment was carried over into the permanent legislation of the Colony in the Codes of 1660 [2] and 1672.[3] That an effort was made by some of the towns to enforce it, seems indicated by the following order of the selectmen of Cambridge, October 15, 1656:

"Edw. Goffe, Jno. Stedman, Ens. Winship, Thomas Sweetman & Jno. Jackson are nominated and appointed by the selectmen to execute the order of the General Court for the improvement of all the families within the limitts of this toune in spinning and cloathing, and each of the said persons are to see to the execuccion of the said order in their respective quarters of the Towne." [4]

[1] General Court, May 14, 1656, *Mass. Col. Records*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, p. 256.
[2] *Laws of 1660*, p. 192. [3] *Laws of 1672*, p. 141.
[4] *Records of Town and Selectmen of Cambridge*, p. 115.

This extreme example of economic regulation, apparently designed as much to promote good habits as to increase production, forms an appropriate transition to the ventures made by the Massachusetts government into the field of sumptuary legislation, *i. e.*, legislation designed to regulate food, drink, clothing, amusements and the like.

The form of sumptuary legislation with which we are today more familiar than any other is that regulating the sale and consumption of alcoholic liquors. Measures directed to the same end are to be found among the earliest statutes of Massachusetts.

The fame of New England rum belongs to a later period when the colony, by then firmly established, was beginning to lose in moral strictness what it was gaining in wealth and prosperity. In the early years tippling was much in the minds of the elders. In one of the letters written to Endicott at Salem before the bringing over of the charter, the Company made the following request:

"We pray you endeavor though there be much strong waters sent for sale . . . if any shall exceede in that inordinate kind of drinking as to become drunk, . . . you will take care his punishment bee made exemplary for all others." [1]

The same attitude appears in this entry in *Winthop's Diary,* made in October, 1630:

"The governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse." [2]

The first legislation on the subject is mild. It consists of an order passed by the Assistants in July, 1633, and is to the effect "that noe person shall sell either wine or strong water without leave from the Governor or Deputy Governor. This order to take place a fortnight hence." [3]

Here the matter rested for four years. Then we begin to

[1] Letters from Massachusetts Bay Company in England to Jno. Endicott at Salem, dated Gravesend, June 3, 1629. *Mass. Col. Records,* I, p. 406.

[2] *Winthrop's Diary,* October 25, 1630, Original Nar. Edition, vol. I, p. 53.

[3] Court of Ass'ts, July 2, 1633, *Mass. Col. Records,* I, p. 106.

hear of "much drunkenness," "great abuses," and the like, and a period of legislative activity sets in. It commences with an act of the General Court of November, 1637. "In regard of the great abuse in ordinaries, it is ordered that no ordinary keeper shall sell either sack or strong water." [1]

The same General Court two weeks later went very much further and enacted the following really stringent piece of legislation:

"Whereas it hath appeared unto this Court upon many sad complaints, that such drunkenness, waste of the good creatures of God, mispence of precious time, and other disorders have frequently fallen out in the inns and common victualing houses within this jurisdiction, whereby God is much dishonored, the profession of religion reproached and the welfare of the commonwealth greatly impaired, and the true use of such houses (being the necessary relief of travellers) subverted; for redresse hearof it is now ordered that after the last day of the present month it shall not bee lawful for any person that shall keepe any such inn or common victualing house, to sell or have in their houses any wine, or strong waters, nor any beere, or other drinke other than such as may and shall be sould for 1d the quart at the most; and for this end none of those persons (other than in such townes as for want of a common brewer shall bee allowed by this Court . . .) shall brew any beere to sell, but shall take the same of some common brewer upon paine to forfeit for every offence gainst this order X£. And it is further ordered that no such common brewer shall sell or utter to any inn or common victualing house within this jurisdiction any beere or other drinke of any stronger size than such as may and shall bee affoarded at the rate of 8s the barrell upon paine of 20£ for every offence against this order. . . . Provided that it may be lawful for any such innkeeper or victualler to have in their houses some small quantity of strong water for their owne private and necessary use." [2]

This measure seems to have had some connection with a

[1] General Court, November 2, 1637, *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 205.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1637, *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 213.

scheme to limit the privilege of brewing to a restricted number of "common brewers." That it was occasioned by the disorder of the inns and public houses at the time appears from the following provision with which it was accompanied:

"It is further ordered that no single man, or other person inhabiting in this jurisdiction, shall lodge or remain in any inn or common victualling house longer than for their necessary occations, upon payne of 20s for every offence both for the housekeeper and the person there abiding contrary to this order." [1]

The legislation just reviewed fell rapidly to pieces. The scheme to establish "common brewers" apparently miscarried, and on September 6, 1638, the General Court enacted that "The inkeepers or ordinary keepers have liberty to brewe the beare which they sell in their houses or to agree with the brewar as they can." [2]

The following March the orders about restraint of beer were "repealed, both in respect to the brewer and ordinaries, and the ordinaries are permitted to sell beare at 2 d a quart."

At the same time "It was ordered that those that are permitted to retaile wines should not sell any to bee drunk in their houses." [3]

Some of the measures adopted are quaint in the extreme. For instance, in 1639, Winthrop's prejudice against the drinking of healths finds its way into a law:

"For as much as it is evident unto this Court that the common custom of drinking one to another is a mere useless ceremony and drawieth on that abominable practice of drinking healths, and is also an occasion for much wast of good creatures and of many other sins, as drunkenness, quarelling, bloodshed, uncleanness, mispence of precious time, &c, which as they ought in all places and times to bee prevented, carefully, so especially in plantations of churches, & common weales, wherein the least known evils are not to bee tolerated, by such as are bound by soleme covenant to walk by the rule of God's word in all their conversation. It is therefore ordered that after the publication of this

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 214. [2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 238.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 258.

order no person of this jurisdiction, nor any other person who shall hereafter come into this jurisdiction (after one weekes residence heare) shall, directly or indirectly, by any color or circumstance, drinke to any other, contrary to the intent of this order, upon paine of xii d to bee forfeited for every offence, to bee levyed by the constable by order from any magistrate, or such as are appointed in townes to determine small causes, upon conviction . . . to the use of the towne where the offence shalbee committed, & of the party complaining, by equal proportion." [1]

Equally quaint is a law passed some ten years later (October 18, 1648). After a preamble in which it is stated that the prevailing drunkenness is a scandal "not merely to ourselves but also to such as are in confederation with us," and that it is much to be feared that if not speedily prevented, "it will bring some stroake of God's heavy hand upon us," the Court goes on to enact that if any licensed seller of intoxicants conceal in his house any person that shall be found drunken, and shall not forthwith procure a constable whereby such drunken person may be brought before some magistrate to the end he may receive condign punishment; in the interim the said vintner or drawer of beer to stay the person until the constable shall come; for every such offence he should forfeit five pounds to the use of the country.[2]

More important and of a really constructive character is the act of November, 1639:

"It is ordered that every town shall have liberty from time to time to choose a fit man to sell wine, the same to bee allowed by license from this Court or the Court of Assistants, & that it shallbee lawfull for such persons alowed to retaile wine to let wine bee drunke in his house; provided that if any person shalbee made drunke in any such house, or any immoderate drinking suffered there, the master of the family shall pay for every such offence five pounds." [3]

This act in a broad way lays down the lines which all subsequent liquor legislation in the colony was to follow.

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 272.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 257.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 279.

It was amplified in a subsequent act of November 6, 1646, and was developed into a complete system of regulation in the section of Innkeepers and Ordinaries of the Code of 1660. This section, which represents the fully developed policy of the colony, commences with a provision requiring all persons who desire to sell publicly wine, ale, beer, or strong waters by retail or in smaller quantities than a quarter-cask, to secure the approval of the selectmen of the town concerned, and, having this approval, to take out a license in the county court. Distillers of strong waters and wholesale merchants of wines might sell by retail in quantities of three gallons or more of wine, or a quart or more of strong waters, at a time to a single purchaser, provided this purchaser were a master of a family, of good and honest repute, or a person going to sea, and provided he did not undertake to consume his purchase in the house, cellar, or yard of the merchant.[1]

Rules were then laid down as to the manner in which licensed keepers of houses of entertainment were to conduct their establishments:

"Every person licensed to keep an Ordinary shall always be provided of strong wholesome Beere, of four bushels of Mault (at the least) to a hogshead which he shall not sell at above two pense the ale-quart upon penalty of fourty shillings for the first offence, and for the second offence to lose his License.

"And it is permitted to any that will to sell beer out of dores at one penny the ale-quart or under.

"And no licensed person as aforesaid shall suffer any to be drunke, or to drinke excessively, viz. above half a pint of wine for one person at a time, or to continue Tipling above the space of halfe an hour, or at unseasonable times, or after nine of the clock at night, in or about any of their houses on penalty of five shillings for every such offence." [2]

All innkeepers whose houses of entertainment were situated within a mile of a meeting-house were required to close up and turn their guests outdoors during the hour of

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, II, pp. 171–173; *Laws of 1660*, p. 163.

[2] *Laws of 1660*, p. 164.

the weekday lecture; so that the inviting hospitality of the taproom might not compete with the attractions of divine worship.[1]

Just as the innkeeper was not to charge more than twopence per quart for his beer, so he was not to sell his wine at a greater advance than sixpence a quart above what he had paid for it wholesale; and on wine and spirits he was to pay a sort of internal revenue tax, amounting to fifty shillings on every butt of wine and twopence on every quart of spirits (Laws of 1660, pp. 165 and 166, bottom). In 1668 this tax was extended to cyder, rum, ale and beer, being fixed for cyder, ale and beer at two shillings sixpence per hogshead, and at five shillings per hogshead in the case of rum. The collection of the tax necessitated a close watch upon the stock of every tavern-keeper and reports of all purchases were required to be made by them to the Treasurer of the Colony.[2]

The liquor legislation of the colony began, then, with a period of tolerance, followed by a period marked by several sharp attempts at restriction, which in turn was succeeded by another period of tolerance and moderate regulation. Exactly the opposite was the course pursued toward another habit which was no less—which was perhaps even more,—frowned upon by the Massachusetts elders than the practice of tippling—the habit, namely, of tobacco-taking.

The prejudice against tobacco appears in the first letters written to Endicott after he had come out to Salem:

"Be of good courage goe on, do worthily, & the Lord prosper your endeavor. The course you have taken is giving our countrymen their content. In the point of plantinge tobacco there for the present, is not disallowed; but, wee trust in God other means will be found to imploye theire tyme more comfortable and profitable alsoe in the end; and wee cannot but generally approve and commend their good resolution to desist from the plantinge thereof, when as they shall discern howe to imploye their labours otherwise which wee hope they will be speedilye induced into by such precepts and examples as wee shall give them." [3]

[1] *Laws of 1660*, p. 166. [2] *Laws of 1660*, p. 241.

[3] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 385.

The official letter of the Company to Endicott dated two months later, in April, expresses the same sentiments; and goes on "absolutely to forbid the sale of it or the use of it, by any of our owne or particular men servants unless upon urgent occasion for the benefit of health & taken privately." So it was not upon the ground of health that the Massachusetts fathers' opposition to the weed was based.[1]

A stringent law is found among the earliest statutes of the Colony:

"It is further ordered that noe person shall take tobacco publiquely under paine of punishment; also that every one shall pay 1 d for every time he is convicted of taking tobacco in any place." [2]

Tobacco makes its next appearance in unsavory company:

"It is ordered that noe person, house-houlder or other shall spend his time idly or unprofitably, under paine of such punishment as the Courts shall think meete to inflict; & for this end it is ordered that the constable of every place shall use spetiale care & diligence to take knowledge of offenders in this kinde, espetially of common coasters, unprofitable fowlers & tobacco takers, & to present the same to the two next Assistants." [3]

This act remained on the Statute books down to the end of the Charter government, having been incorporated into both the Code of 1660 and that of 1672.[4]

In September, 1634, it was ordered that victuallers, or keepers of an ordinary, should not "suffer any tobacco to bee taken in their houses, under penalty of V s for every offence to be payde by the victualer, & XII d by the party that takes it." Further it is ordered that "noe person shall take tobacco publiquely, under the penalty of II s 6 d, nor privately in his owne house, or in the house of another, before strangers, & that two or more shall not take it together anywhere, under the aforesaid penalty for every offence." [5]

Close on the heels of this came an act of absolute prohibition.

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 388.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 101.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 109.
[4] *Laws of 1660*, p. 158; *Laws of 1672*, p. 66.
[5] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 126.

"It is further ordered that no person whatsoever shall either buy or sell any tobacco within this jurisdiction after the last of September nexte, under the penalty of X s a pound, and soe proportionably for more or less to bee paide by buyer and seller, & that in the meane time noe person shall buy or sell any tobacco att a higher price than it shalbe valued att by the government for the tyme being, & two other whome hee shall please to chuse, under the penalty aforesaid." [1]

But this measure must have proved too strong. The smokers turned at last, and, after a long enough period to be sure, succeeded in securing relief. In November, 1637, the General Court—the same General Court which distinguished itself by the stringency of its liquor legislation—absolutely reversed the policy of the colony in regard to tobacco: "All former laws against tobacco are repealed, & tobacco is set at liberty," reads the law.[2]

But tobacco's liberty was not of long duration. The following year we find the General Court back at the subject, and making an enactment to this effect:

"This Court, finding that since the repealing of the former laws against tobacco, the same is more abused than before, it hath therefore ordered that no man shall take any tobacco in the fields, except in his journey or at meal times, upon paine of 12 d for every offence; nor shall he take any tobacco in or so near any dwelling house, barne, corn or hay rick as may likely indanger the firing thereof upon paine of X s for every offence; nor shall he take any tobacco in any inne, or common victualling house, except in a private room there, so as neither the master of the same house, nor any other guest there, shall take offence thereat; which if they do, then such person is forthwith to forbeare, upon paine of 2 s 6 d for every offence." [3]

With minor variations this remained the law.

There is very little in the Massachusetts Statutes regarding amusements; not apparently because the legislators looked on these with tolerance, for what little there is, is strong, but probably because the tendency in that direction was so feeble that the need of legislation was small.

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 136. [2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 206. [3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 242.

One of the earliest orders of the Assistants was that "all persons whatsoever that have cards, dice, or tables in their houses shall make away with them before the next court, under paine of punishment." [1] This enactment seems to have sufficed until 1646, when a law was passed prohibiting playing or gaming for money or any valuable object under penalty of double the value of the stake, one-half the fine going to the informer.[2] The provision on the subject which finally found its way into the Code of 1660 was a general prohibition of all playing at cards or dice whatever on pain of a five shilling fine for every offense.[3] The possession of cards or dice is made by the Code of 1672 to bear the same penalty.[4]

Dancing first appears on records in connection with a Court of Assistants kept at Cambridge, June 5th, 1638, when "Lawrence Waters' wife," John Finch, Nicholas Theale, and Edw. Lambe were "admonished to avoyde dancing." [5]

In the Code of 1660 it was prohibited in ordinaries and public houses on any occasion.[6]

Even more manly and athletic exercises met with equal disfavor from the magistrates. In 1647 the playing of shuffle-board was prohibited at inns, or other houses "used as common for such purpose," the law stating that much precious time was thereby squandered, and "much waste of wine and beer occasioned." [7] The prohibition was soon extended to bowling and in 1660 was incorporated in the Code;[8] and by 1677 horse-racing had become sufficiently common to call forth a similar prohibition.[9]

There are no provisions to be found in the records regarding bear-baiting, cock-fighting, or other familiar English sports of the period. That we should infer from this a tacit permission of these sports is hardly likely; considering the attitude taken toward such pastimes as bowling and shuffle-board, it would seem more probable that the absence

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 84.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 180.
[3] *Laws of 1660*, p. 153.
[4] *Laws of 1672*, p. 58.
[5] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 233.
[6] *Laws of 1660*, p. 153.
[7] *Mass. Col. Records*, II, p. 195.
[8] *Laws of 1660*, p. 153.
[9] *Laws of 1672*, p. 347.

of provisions regarding the other sports was due to the absence of the sports themselves.

With legislation of the kind so far summarized we are more or less familiar even today; in passing to the measures taken by the Massachusetts General Court to regulate the diet and clothing of individuals we pass into an atmosphere that is completely strange.

The Massachusetts legislators seem to have been particularly anxious that no one should spend too much of his substance upon food. In September, 1634, they ordered that no keeper of an ordinary should take above sixpence a meal for a person.[1] Three years later they returned to the same subject, the act being headed "To prevent extravagance in diet."

"Whereas complaint hath been also made that diverse pore people who would willingly content themselves with meane dyat are forced to take such dyat as is tendered them at 12 d the meale or more, it is now ordered that every keeper of an inn or common victualling house shall sell and allowe unto every of their guests such victuals as they shall call for, & not force them to take more or other than they desire, bee it never so meane & small in quantity, & shall afford the same and all other dyat at reasonable prises, upon paine of such fine as the Court shall inflict according to the measure & quantity of the offence." [2]

The Court at the same time placed its ban on certain kinds of food: venison was not to be bought except by special permission;[3] and it was ordered that "no person shall sell any cakes or buns either in the markets or victualling houses or elsewhere, upon paine of X s fine; provided that this order shall not extend to such cakes as shalbee made for any buriall, or marriage, or such like special occasion." [4]

At the same time another method of bringing about the same result was in operation; in December, 1636, an act had been enacted "For preventing the immoderate expense of provisions brought from beyond the seas."

"It is ordered that whosoever after three months from the date hereof shall buy or receive out of any ship any fruits,

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 214.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 208.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 214.

spice, shugar, wine, strong water, or tobacco shall pay to the Treasurer one sixth part of the price or value thereof; & every person who shall buy or receive any of the said commodities with intent to retaile the same to others shall pay to the Treasurer one third part of the value or price thereof; and for the due execution of this order there shalbee one officer chosen by the Governor & consell . . . who shall have power . . . to survey all vessels within any of our harbors & to make search in all warehouses & other places of stoweage, for discovery of such provisions. . . . Provided that this order shall not extend to such wine as the deacons of the churches shall buy or procure, bone fide, for the churches publike use." [1]

The policy represented in the latter act was not, however, long-lived. That portion of the act which related to sugar, spice, and fruit was repealed in November, 1637;[2] the remaining part in March, 1638.[3] Nor do we find any further attempt on the part of the court to enforce moderation in diet by any other method; although there are occasional enactments on the subject with some other object in view. Thus there is an act of October, 1641, to the following effect:

"For as much as it appeareth to this Court that wheate is like to bee a staple commodity, & that a ship is with all convenient speede to be set fourth, & fraited with wheate, for the fetching in of such foraine commodities as we stand in neede of, it is therefore ordered that no baker, ordinary keeper, or other person, shall bake or sell, or set to sale, any bread or cakes made of wheate meale, or whearin any wheate meale shalbee put, upon paine of forfeit double the value thereof. And the constables of every towne are hereby required to see that this order bee observed, & that they shall make seisure of all such bread so set to sale & distribute the same to the poore." [4]

If the Court soon gave up the task of regulating the diet of the colonists, its interest in their clothing was more persistent. As early as 1634, we have the following interesting enactment:

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 209.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 221.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 337.

"The Court taking into consideration the greate, superflouous & unnecessary expenses occasioned by reason of some newe & immodest fashions, as also the ordinary wearing of silver, golde, and silk laces, girdles, hatbands, &c., hath therefore ordered that noe person, either man or woman, shall hereafter make or buy any apparell, either wollen, silk, or lynnen, with any lace on it, silver, golde, silke, or thread, under the penalty of forfecture of such cloathes.

"Also that no person, either man or woman, shall make or buy any slashed clothes, other than one slash in each sleeve, and another in the backe; also all cuttworke, imbroidered or needle-worke capps, bands, & vayles are forbidden hereafter to be made and worne, under the aforesaid penalty; also all golde or silver girdles, hattbands, belts, ruffs, beaver hatts, are prohibited to be bought & worne hereafter, under the aforesaid penalty.

"Moreover, it is agreed, if any man shall judge the wearing of any of the forenamed particulars, newe fashions, or longe hair, or anything of the like nature, to be uncomely, or prejudicial to the common good, & the party offending reform not the same upon notice given him, that then the nexte Assistant, being informed thereof, shall have power to binde the party soe offending to answer it at the nexte Court, if the case soe requires; provided, & it is the meaning of the Court, that men and women shall have liberty to weare out such apparell as they are now provided of (except the immoderate greate sleeves, slashed apparell, immoderate great vayles, long wings, &c.) this order to take place a fortnight after the publishing thereof." [1]

Repeated reënactments on the subject were found necessary. The making of lace was forbidden in October, 1636; [2] the buying or selling of it in September, 1639. At the same time the making of lace for exportation was expressly permitted.[3]

Meanwhile an even more dangerous fashion had crept in, which was dealt with by an enactment of September, 1639, providing that:

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 126. [2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 183.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 274.

"Hereafter noe garment shalbee made with short sleeves, whereby the nakedness of the arm may bee discovered . . . & such as have garments already made with short sleeves shall not hereafter wear the same, unless they cover their armes to the wrist with linnen or otherwise; and hereafter no person whatsoever shall make any garment for woemen, or any of their sex with sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest place thereof, & so proportionable for biger or smaller persons." [1]

The act then goes on to make provisions for "Present reformation of immoderate greate sleeves & some other superfluities which may easily bee redressed without much prejudice, or the spoils of garments, as immoderate great knots of ryban, broad shoulder bands, & vayles, silk nases, double ruffs, & cuffs, &c." [2]

These acts were repealed Nov. 13, 1644,[3] but a general act on the subject of apparel which became the basis of the subsequent law on the subject, was passed by the Court of October, 1651:

"Although severall declarations & orders have been made by this Court against excesse in apparell, both of men & women, which hath not yet taken that effect which were to bee desired, but on the contrary we cannot but to our grief take notice that intollerable excesse and bravery hath crept in upon us, & especially amongst people of meane condition, to the dishonor of God, the scandal of our profession, the consumption of estates, & altogether unsuteable to our poverty; & although we acknowledge it to be a matter of much difficulty in regard to the blindness of men's minds & the stubbournness of theire wills to set down exact rules to confine all sorts of persons, yet we cannot but account it our duty to command unto all sorts of persons a sober and moderate use of those blessings which beyond our expectation the Lord hath been pleased to afford unto us in this wilderness, & also to declare our utter detestation & dislike that men or women of meane condition, educations, & callings, should take upon them the garbe of gentlemen, by wearing

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, I, p. 274. [2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 274.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 84.

of gold or silver lace, or buttons, or poyntes at the knees, to walke in greate boots; or woemen of the same rank to weare silke or tiffany hoodes or scarfes, which though allowable to persons of greater estates, or more liberall education, yet we cannot but judge it intollerable in persons of such like condition; it is therefore ordered by this Court & the Authority thereof that noe person within this jurisdiction, or any of their relatives depending upon them whose visible estate reall and personal shall not exceede the true and indifferent value of two hundred pounds, shall weare any golde or silver lace or golde or silver buttons, or any bone lace above 2 shillings per yard, or silke hoodes or scarfes upon the penalty of ten shillings for every offence; & every such delinquent to be presented by the grand jury. And forasmuch as distinct and particular rules in this case, suteable to the estate or quality of each person cannot easily be given, it is further ordered by the authority aforesaid that the select men of every town, or the major part of them, are hereby enabled and required from time to time to have regard and take notice of apparill in any of the inhabitants of their several townes & whosever they shall judge to exceede their ranks & abillitie in the costliness or fashion of their apparill in any respect, especially in the waring of ribbons and greate bootes (leather being a commodity scarce in this country), the said selectmen shall have power to assess such persons so offending in any of the particulars above mentioned in the country rate at 200£, according to that proportion that such men use to pay to whom such apparill is suteable and allowed; provided that this law shall not extend to the restraint of any magistrate or other public officer of this jurisdiction, their wives and children, who are left to their discretion in wearing of apparill, or any settled military officer, or souldier in the time of military service or any other whose education and employment have been above the ordinary degree, or whose estates have been considerable, though now decayed." [1]

It seems clear that the motive of this act is not so much hostility to gay apparel as such as to the affectation of it by

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, III, pp. 243–244.

persons of inferior condition. The stricter idealism of the old Puritanism is beginning to give way; and its disappearance permits the emergence of that class feeling which everywhere shows itself to have been so strong in early Massachusetts. The provisions of the act just quoted were repeated in substance in the Code of 1660, and in that of 1672, and remained in force throughout the period of the charter.[1]

But there were some fashions which even the second generation could not tolerate; and about 1673 there was presented to the Magistrates "The humble Petition of John Eliot" and some twenty others. . . . "in the name of some of the people that lyve under the Jurisdiction of the Massachusetts government." . . .

" to endeavor the removal of an evyl in the educasion of youth at thecollege,such asare brought up for the holy service of the Lord wether in the Magistracy, or Ministry especially, and in particular in their long haire which lust first tooke head and broke out at the college . . . and now it is got into our pulpits to the great grief and offence of many godly hearts in the country." And the petitioners raised the question "whether all other lusts which have so incorrigibly broke in upon our youth have not first sprung from the incorrigableness of this lust." [2]

This petition was perhaps the motive behind the law enacted on the subject in 1675, the preamble of which deplores,

"the manifest Pride openly appearing amongst us in that long hair like women's Hair is worn by some men, either their own or others Hair made into Periwigs, and their cutting, curling, and Immodest laying out their Hair, which practice doth prevail and increase, especially amongst the younger sort." [3]

To appreciate the effectiveness of such legislation all that one has to do is to look at a portrait of Cotton Mather or Samuel Sewall in their full-bottomed periwigs.

The same Court which enacted the law against long hair

[1] *Laws of 1660*, p. 123; *Laws of 1672*, p. 5.

[2] John Noble in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Mass.*, p. 463, quoting Suffolk Court files, Vol. XII, group No. I, p. 174.

[3] *Laws of 1672*, p. 233.

took cognizance also of certain "vaine newe strange Fashions both in poor and rich," which lead to a display of "naked breasts and arms or as it were with the addition of superfluous Ribbons both on Hair and Apparill;" and fixed a penalty upon conforming to them.[1]

Not merely the sin of pride, but that of idleness as well, lay heavily on the hearts of the Massachusetts legislators. We have already seen the old Statute of 1634 regarding "common coasters, unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco takers." In 1646 it was enacted that

"every township, or such as are deputed to order ye prudentials thereof, shall have power to present to ye Quarter Courte all idle and unprofitable persons all children who are not diligently implied by their parents, which Courte shall have power to dispose of them for their own welfare & improvement of ye common good." [2]

By an earlier act the selectmen of the towns were enjoined to see that all children who were employed in keeping Cattle be set to some additional employment to occupy their time, "as spinning upon the rock, knitting, weaving tape &c., & that boyes and girles be not suffered to converse together so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest or immodest behavior." [3]

Lying was another sin which, like idleness, came under the ban of the early Massachusetts legislators. A statute passed May 14, 1645, enacts:

"Whereas truth, in words as well as in actions, is required of all men, especially of Christians, who are ye professed Servants of ye God of truth, & whereas all lying is contrary to truth, & some sort of lies are not only sinfull (as all lies are) but also pernicious to ye publike weale, & iniurious to particular persons, it is therefore ordered yt every person of ye age of discretion, which is accounted 14 years, who shall, wittingly and willingly, make or publish any lye which may be pernicious to ye publike weale, or tending to ye damage or iniury of any particular person, or with intent to deceive and abuse ye people by false newes or reports, & ye same duely proved in any Court, or before

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Mass. Col. Records*, II, p. 180. [3] *Ibid*, II, p. 7.

any one magistrate (who hath hereby power granted to heare and determine all offences against ye lawe) such person shall be punished after ye manner: For ye first offence 10 s, or if ye party be unable to pay ye same, then to sit so long in ye stocks as ye said Court or magistrate shall appoint, not exceeding two houres; for ye second offence ye sume of 20 s, or if ye party be unable to pay, yn to be whipped upon ye naked body not exceeding ten stripes; for ye third offence, 40 s or, if ye party be unable to pay, yn to be whipped with more stripes, not exceeding fifteen." [1]

At the time of King Philip's War, one of the effects of the fear and horror excited by the conflict was apparently to stimulate the belief among the colonists that they had proved displeasing to God by falling into several varieties of sin. Accordingly, to remedy their shortcomings there was a sudden and violent tightening up of all the laws penalizing the particular types of sinfulness held in greatest detestation. The General Court which met October 13, 1675, to take measures for the conduct of the war outdid itself in its effort to extirpate the evils which had brought God's wrath upon His people. After enacting a military code, they went on to recite under the title "Provoking Evils":

"Whereas the Most Wise and Holy God for several Years past hath not only warned us by his Word, but chastised us with his Rods, Inflicting upon us many general (though lesser) Judgements; But we have neither heard the Word nor Rod as we ought, so as to be effectually humbled for our sins to repent of them, reform and amend our wayes: Hence it is the Righteous God hath heightened our Calamity, and given Commission to the Barbarous Heathen to rise up against us, and to become a smart rod and severe scourge to us in Burning and Depopulating several hopeful Plantations, murdering many of our people of all sorts and seeming as it were to cast us off, and putting us to shame, and not going forth with our Armies, hereby speaking aloud to us to search and try our Ways and turn again unto the Lord our God from whom we have departed with a great Backsliding." [2]

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, II, p. 104.

[2] *Laws of 1672*, p. 232.

After this preamble the Court proceeded to reënact with greater severity the laws against long hair, excess of apparel, toleration of heretics, early leaving of public worship, cursing, tippling, idleness, profiteering, and the "loose and sinful custom" of riding from town to town. The act against long hair and periwigs mentioned above belongs to this series, as does the act against superfluous ribbons and naked breasts and arms. Another act provided for the whipping of children who were disorderly during divine service and imposed a fine on their parents. Against "the sin of idleness," which was described as "a sin of Sodom" it was enacted that "the Constable with such other person or persons whom the Select men shall Appoint shall Inspect particular Families and present a list of the names of all idle persons to the Select men, who are hereby strictly required to proceed with them as already the Law directs, and in Case of Obstinacy, by charging the Constable with them, who shall Convey them to some Magistrate, by him to be committed to the house of Correction." Of all the enactments perhaps the most interesting is the last:

"Whereas there is a loose and sinful Custome of Going or Riding from Town to Town, and that oft times Men and Women together, upon pretence of going to Lectures, but it appears to be meerely to Drinke and Revil in Ordinaries and Tavernes, which is in itselfe Scandalous, and it is feared a notable means to debauch our Youth, and hazard the Chastity of such as are drawn forth thereunto; For prevention whereof it is ordered that all single persons who meerly for their pleasure take such Journies, and frequent such Ordinaries, shall be reputed and accounted Riotous and Unsober persons, and of Ill Behaviour, and shall be liable to be Summoned to appear before any County Court, Magistrate, or Commissioner, and being thereof convicted shall give Bond and sufficient Sureties for the good Behaviour in twenty Pounds and upon refusal so to do, shall be committed to Prison for ten days, or pay a fine of forty shillings for each offence." [1]

[1] *Laws of 1672*, p. 236.

III.

There is no way of determining with any degree of accuracy the effectiveness of the various regulations reviewed in this paper. That some were ineffective seems indicated by their persistent reënactment; that others did not realize the hopes of their authors seems shown by their early repeal. Even if we had means of knowing the number of prosecutions brought for their violation we could not tell the extent to which they were observed or disregarded in the vastly greater number of instances which never found their way into court. Information as to the number of prosecutions would, however, shed some light on the earnestness of the efforts at enforcement made by the governing authorities and would thus supply a basis for estimating to what extent the various restrictive measures constituted a source of annoyance to those who lived under them. Unfortunately in the present state of the records such information is almost wholly lacking. During the greater part of the period under review, enforcement of the orders in question was primarily in the hands of the County Courts and of individual magistrates whose records have either disappeared or not yet been published. In the absence, however, of these sources of information there is one source available which sheds some light on the problem. In the early years of the colony much business of the type which was afterwards handled by the Country Courts came before the Court of Assistants. The Records of the Court of Assistants from 1630 to 1644 are in print.[1] Some light on the practical importance of the legislation here considered in the life of the community during that period may be obtained by examining the number of prosecutions to which such legislation gave rise as compared with the other criminal business of the court.

During the period in question there came before the court eight cases of homicide, eight of assault and battery, thirty-nine of robbery, theft and allied crimes, one case of arson, one of bigamy, one of rape, forty-one of adultery, fornication

[1] *Records of the Court of Assistants*, ed. John Noble, Boston, 1904, Vol. II (1630–44).

and similar offences, four of criminal fraud, nineteen of swearing and fifteen of runaway servants. At the same time there were eighty-two cases of drunkenness, fifteen of illegal liquor selling, twenty-nine breaches of various economic regulations, nineteen cases of idleness, "light carriage" and the like, and four of Sabbath-breaking. Cases arising out of breaches of the various regulations considered in this paper thus bulk fairly large in comparison with the total number of ordinary common-law crimes.

The cases which are of special interest here are those falling under the categories of breaches of economic regulations, and idleness, "light carriage" and the like. Of the twenty-nine cases under the former heading, eleven were prosecutions for charging excessive prices, six were for taking ages that were too high, four were for breaches of various regulations such as those prescribing the weight of bread, two were for want of proper weights and measures, five were for releasing indented servants before expiration of their period of service and one was for neglect of a ferry. The cases of excessive prices were fairly evenly distributed over the whole period. Of the eleven cases, one occurred in 1633, two in 1635, one in 1637, one in 1638, four in 1639, one in 1640 and one in 1641. The articles involved were boards, knives and scythes, beer (three cases), three were cases of millers who took excessive toll, and in the other cases the facts are not specified. Of the six cases of excessive wages, one occurred in 1634, one in 1635, two in 1642 and two in 1643. The earliest case was that of one James Rawlens who "took 18 d a day & meate and drinke for ten dayes worke for one of his servants weeding corne." [1] The next case involved four defendants, Arthur Hollidge, who "took 2 s 6d a day for 30 dayes worke, Richard Bulgar 6 days, Thomas Mount 9 days, James Hawkens 36 dayes, all att 2 s 6 d a day and soe have all forfected Vs a day according to the order of Court." [2] The cases occurring in 1642 were those of William Shepheard and Lawrence Copeland, each of whom covenanted for £15 wages per annum, and who were fined £2 respectively. Details of the two other cases are not given.

[1] *Records of Court of Assistants*, II, p. 47. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Of the nineteen cases of offences against various social regulations, three involved dancing, gaming and apparel. These resulted simply in admonitions, and no fines were imposed. One prosecution was for drinking a health and another for allowing drinking in the defendant's house. Six cases were prosecutions for idleness, usually coupled with some additional offence such as wastefulness, disorderly living, or "stubbornness." Four of these prosecutions resulted in sentences of whipping, one in a fine, and in one case the defendant was placed in charge of a magistrate. Six prosecutions were for "light behavior," "ill behavior," "light carriage," "ill carriage," not more particularly specified, and two were for "immodest expressions" and "obscene speeches." No cases have been found of prosecution for violation of the laws against bowling, shuffle-board, horse-racing or the use of tobacco.

Perhaps the most striking result of the analysis of the criminal business before the Assistants during these years is the relatively great number of prosecutions for "speaking against authority" and related offences. Of these there were thirty-nine, equal to the total of all forms of theft and offences against property and almost equal to the number of sexual offences. The objectionable speeches are not as a rule set out, but they include speeches against the magistrates, the ministers, the grand jury and even against the practice of singing in the churches. More to our purpose here is the fact that they included speeches against some of the regulatory laws of the colony. At a Quarter-Court held at Cambridge, Jan. 6, 1638, Thomas Starr, "being accused for speaking against the order of the Court about swine, & the same proved that hee said the law was against God's law . . . so hee was committed . . . & was fined £20." [1] On April 4th, 1639, "Richard Silvester for speaking against the law about hogs . . . was fined ten pounds." [2] No criminal utterances are recorded against the laws about lace, tobacco, and horse-racing, but it seems certain that if any member of the colony found himself in disagreement with the spirit and policy of the government's enactments, it was to his advantage to remain discreetly silent.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

MEMORIES OF HALL TAVERN.

BY ISADORE P. TAYLOR.

These memories of Hall Tavern were jotted down years ago by the grandchildren of Joel and Lucretia Street Hall to hand down to their great-grandchildren. Being glimpses of intimate family life they were not intended to reach beyond the circle of relatives who might be interested.

This must excuse the rambling form in which they now appear. Joel and Lucretia Hall came early in their married life from Wallingford, Conn., to Rowe, Mass. This was prior to 1806. They chose a home on a picturesque hillside on the old road to Readsboro. This road was abandoned long years ago, is now impassable, and it was only discovered to us by that genial enthusiast, Mr. Percy Brown, who has the reputation of "knowing every old cellar hole in the town of Rowe." It was pioneer life on that hillside, but when one's ancestors on both sides of the house had served in the Revolution, all the family traditions armed the descendants to face hardship and danger with high courage.

In later days the grandchildren often besought Grandmother to tell them of one thrilling incident which occurred on this Rowe hillside.

One sunny morning Grandmother heard the children unusually hilarious in their play. Going to the door, she found them screaming with delight as they romped with a young bear. The bear evidently enjoyed the fun as much as they. The children came in most unwillingly when called, begging to go back to play with "that good, kind dog."

To his cares as farmer, Joel Hall added those of drover, driving the cattle of the surrounding farmers to Boston.

In the early records of Rowe, his name appears in numerous ways and as petitioner for a library; later, as one of the founders of Mountain Lodge, now located in Shelburne Falls. He bought the tavern on the Deerfield River about 1807. The tavern was built in 1760. In 1797 it was owned by Medad Lyman, a blacksmith, and was called Lamb's Tavern.

Later it was sold to Ebenezer Montague for $1200, as the deed reads, "with 65 acres, together with the pot ash over which it stands." The additions to the house made later contained timbers from the old Taylor Fort.

In stagecoach days East Charlemont was a thriving little community.

There was the blacksmith's shop with its sling for holding oxen clear of the floor while they were being shod—an affair of thrilling interest to the children; there were sawmill, the gristmill, a foundry, Wilder's harness shop, a carding mill on what is still called "Carding Mill Brook," a brickyard on the Ox Bow Road, the shop where "Hatter Avery" made headgear for men, a general store, a butcher shop, and on the second floor of one of the dwellings was the law office of Esquire Maxwell.

Later Josiah Pratt built an ax factory by the river.

In the midst of this industry stood Hall Tavern with its swinging sign, upon which a lion rampant was represented beckoning the traveller to rest and refreshment.

Grandfather Hall was a most acceptable host—genial, social, and a man of integrity. He made many friends, and had a story for every occasion. He and his wife were the souls of hospitality, and Hall Tavern was a very successful little Country Inn. Grandfather Hall was what used to be called "a good provider," and his bounty and good cheer met with cordial recognition. He was the stronger character of the two, but Grandmother was the guiding spirit of the house, a woman of high ideals and unusually spiritual-minded. Her husband always respected her opinions.

As far back as the memory of the granddaughters reached, Grandmother always wore the same style of dress—the plain waist with shoulder cape, full skirt and the usual white cap.

She was a devoted wife and mother of a large family of children. To her duties as hostess were added the family sewing, the spinning, dyeing and weaving.

In some, to us now, occult way she made time to weave of wool, bedspreads, now highly appreciated. On these spreads, dyed black, was embroidered a large colored floral design with appropriate variations. She made one for each

daughter—the one remaining intact to the family still preserves the pleasing color in its carefully-set stitches.

It was often said, "Everybody loved to go to Hall Tavern for good company and good cooking," and surely the host and hostess found pleasure in "keeping up the Good Cheer."

There were many family gatherings, when Grandmother's table "groaned" with the weight of good things. Grandfather on these occasions made the punch—was it flip, then?—and served it in an immense glass tumbler now in the possession of his great-granddaughter Mary Pratt Potter of Greenfield.

Before Thanksgiving—which was the great day of the year—the winter supplies were in and stored, the children's winter clothing for school in readiness. Chestnuts, butternuts and walnuts in the attic. In the cellar were barrels of Golden Pippins, especially prized. Blue Pearmains, Pound Sweetings, Russets, Greenings, Seek-no-furthers and Pumpkin Sweets. Barrels of pork, beef and cider were there also.

Turnips, squashes, beets, pumpkins, onions, cabbages and potatoes were all in their proper bin in the cellar, and in the cheese-room above the shelves were well stocked. That room was never neglected. Grandfather even expected cheese on the breakfast table.

Many of the golden pumpkins had previously been piled on the hill above the barn, where the children had spent many a happy hour playing with them.

They dressed the wee ones for dolls, and two small girls became so attached to them that it was with tears in their eyes that they saw them later rolled down the hill to the cows.

The preparations for Thanksgiving which began long before the great day! Turkeys, chickens, often a roast pig—the latter served with an ear of corn in his mouth, to the great delight of the children; but Grandmother's masterpiece was the chicken pie served in the evening.

An immense pie it was, but far excelling any other chicken pie, for in a circle on the crust was an unrivalled decoration. This was made of small triangles of the same material, with

two deft slashes of a knife—just the proper modelling for the head—a folding of the wings—and there sat a ring of these gay little birds just tinted to a golden brown, and one for each grandchild.

Blazing fires in the many fireplaces contributed to the joy and gladness of the holiday.

The days at Hall Tavern were filled with interest. The stagecoach from North Adams stopped at nine in the morning for fresh horses and returned at four in the afternoon.

The Probate Court met at the Tavern and it was remembered that a favorite Judge said he "always anticipated the dinner at Hall Tavern because Mrs. Hall was the best cook in Western Massachusetts."

The Bar Room, which served as village club-room, was filled every evening. News brought by stagecoach, and town affairs were discussed among items of interest.

Interesting guests there were, occasionally, and among them the Thoreaus of Concord, who came each year, bringing the pencils of their own make. Later, their son, Henry Thoreau, walked up the Deerfield Valley and over the mountain to Williamstown. In one of his books telling of the beauties of the valley he said, "I have not read of any Arcadian life which surpasses the actual luxury and serenity of these New England dwellings."

Another annual event of interest was the coming of the Mayhew family from Baltimore. Their carriage was drawn by four horses, driven by a colored coachman, who with a footman of the same race made a most unusual spectacle in this quiet community. When they rested at Hall Tavern before going farther up the river to visit relatives, it added a touch of romance for the children.

Later they watched the first huge drill for Hoosac Tunnel on its way over the almost impassable grade of the mountain, drawn by forty yoke of oxen.

On the west of Hall Tavern was that garden of happy memories and glorious color, without a rival. Everyone stopped to "see Mrs. Hall's garden," and people came miles to see it. Not only all the favorities were there which we now designate as old-fashioned, but flowers that at that time

were novelties. A dear old lady from Conway who went to Rowe each year for a visit, always made a garden visit at the Tavern. She it was who brought the first tulip bulb to Charlemont.

In the garden was a little grape arbor with table and seats, where in summer, after the Monday washing was done, Grandmother and her daughters "took a cup of tea."

Grandmother always "enjoyed her daughters" even as they enjoyed her. They "depended upon each other for pleasant society."

As time went on and the church could no longer sustain a resident minister, the pulpit was supplied by young men from Harvard Divinity School. They came to the Tavern and endeared themselves to Grandmother in numerous ways—one being the bringing of new flowers for her garden, but the children's favorite made "gallant little barks for them to sail upon the Deerfield."

The Balls at the Tavern were events of interest. The people came for miles around, though none from Buckland. 'Twas said, "Buckland was too pious to dance." The children with their keen eyes made, later, very sage remarks about the dancers, but it was their joy to watch Sam Morse, who always danced with money jingling in his pockets.

The locking of the outside doors had been unknown in Charlemont until one winter morning when Grandfather was wakened by the smell of smoke. Hurrying through the house, he found that live coals, which had been left the night before well covered with ashes, had been brought from the fireplace and put upon a rug, where they were blazing. After the fire was extinguished it was learned that an insane man had gone down the street starting fires in each house. At once iron staples were made and put up on each side of the doors, with a stout wooden bar put across each night. One of these bars is now serving the same purpose at one of the nine outside doors at Hall Tavern.

The custom of "keeping Saturday night" was always observed. One of her grandchildren said, "I can see Grandmother now at sunset—the work all done and put out of sight, bringing the little stand with Bible, candles and snuffer-

tray and setting it near her corner by the fireplace. Sometimes she read aloud, often to herself."

On Sunday at sunset the Sabbath was over and the children waited, eagerly watching the sun sink behind the hills, to resume their play with a rush toward the swing under the butternut tree by the river bank.

One of the grandsons remembered all his long life the Sunday afternoons when he sat upon the doorstone at Hall Tavern ball in hand waiting his release with the setting sun, often with a paralyzing fear that on that particular night some hitch in solar affairs might yet wreck his pleasure.

When the "temperance wave" first swept over Massachusetts one of the sons, Augustus Hall, was an early and enthusiastic convert. He lectured in the brick schoolhouse and advised his hearers "to drink milk to quench thirst," and he, being much incensed because Grandfather occasionally sold liquor, took down the old lion sign. It was never hung again.

After that his energy ran to silkworms, and he filled the dancing hall with them and with mulberry leaves. The gathering of the leaves devolved upon the children.

As Grandfather Hall grew older and had more leisure it was his custom to sit in one of the front doors, generally the west door, where he had a pleasant and friendly word for every passer-by, and many stopped for a neighborly visit.

Perhaps one of the greatest changes Hall Tavern has known is in Road Manners.

Those serene days when one's morning was given a pleasant flavor by the salute of a friendly traveller—if a stranger, none the less cordial and if a friend, perhaps it became a little roadside visit! Well I remember as a small child, the never-failing greeting of my father to every stranger we passed—"Your most obedient, Sir!" Now we *rush* through the beauties of Deerfield Valley, though we sometimes take time to protest when the *rusher* we meet runs into or over us.

'Tis a far cry back to those neighborly, unhurried days.

To-day Hall Tavern, in the interior, stands nearly as in the old days. Its restoration has been accomplished with

happiness and devotion on the part of the family of a great-granddaughter.

Not that the first work toward restoring it was a simple affair. The owners were advised by the workmen that "a good new house could be built for far less than the cost of repair," and when they were told "every part of the old house must be saved," the carpenters thought they "might rescue the ridgepole." Later, the workmen suggested that the owners "tear down the house and live in the chimney as there was enough brick to build the whole of Shelburne Falls." Then followed minor discoveries leading up to grandmother's andirons, found upon unbricking one of the many fireplaces, and, later, in an end of a small closet in the west room a small panel was discovered, which, upon opening, proved to be a smoke-hole back of the fireplace for the curing of hams. The odor and some half-burnt cobs confirmed the first guess. The generous old fireplace in the kitchen with its bake-oven whence issued all those delectable dishes from Grandmother's hand, is intact. It is a house precious with memories, rich in the legacy of the fine, strong characters who spent their lives there, and who with fine courage and good cheer faced their duties manifold.

True serenity can only be bought by ideals and integrity, and that, we believe, is the deeper meaning in Thoreau's words already quoted:—

"I have not read of any Arcadian life which surpasses the actual luxury and serenity of these New England dwellings."

ANNUAL MEETING—1928.

REPORT.

The 58th annual meeting of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association was held Tuesday afternoon in the Council room in Memorial Hall, with the Vice-president, Judge Francis Nims Thompson, presiding. There was a large attendance of members with a number present from the eastern part of the State. The treasurer's report was given by George A. Sheldon. It showed that the new fireproof windows and other repairs of the past year totalled about $5000, thus further safeguarding the valuable collections that Memorial Hall houses. The report of the trustees of the Sheldon Publishing Fund was given by Judge Thompson and Principal F. L. Boyden reported for the trustees of the Permanent Fund. Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon gave the report of the Old Indian House Homestead Fund. All of these reports showed that the Association is in a flourishing condition and doing a large service in its particular field.

The election of officers resulted as follows: President, John Sheldon; vice-presidents, Francis N. Thompson, Franklin G. Fessenden; recording secretary, William L. Harris; corresponding secretary, N. Theresa Mellen; treasurer, George A. Sheldon; councillors, Winthrop P. Abbott, Jonathan P. Ashley, Ellen St. C. Birks, Helen C. Boyden, William B. Browne, Mary W. Fuller, E. Minnie Hawks, Charles W. Hazelton, Margaret Miller, W. Herbert Nichols, S. Willard Saxton, Mary P. Wells Smith, Arthur H. Tucker, Margaret C. Whiting, Albert L. Wing.

The report of Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon, curator, showed that the Hall has been a Mecca for schools, clubs, organizations and individuals from not only all over this country but practically from all over the world.

The following memorial tributes were read: "James Taylor Wetherald," by Miss A. K. Hardy of Boston, read by

Rev. C. P. Wellman; "Robert Higginson Fuller," read by Mrs. Katherine Fuller Arms; a short verbal tribute to William E. Noyes, was given by Arthur H. Tucker of Milton; "Jennie Edith Sheldon," a very intimate tribute, written and read by Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon.

Other papers were given as follows: "Rafting on the Susquehanna," by Mrs. Mary E. Miller; "Peskeompskut," a poem on the "Falls Fight" in which Capt. Turner lost his life, written by the late Judge Francis M. Thompson and read by his son, Judge Francis Nims Thompson; and three interesting letters found among the manuscript papers of Col. Elihu Hoyt. These dealt with the Revolutionary War period, the War of 1812, and a project for running a canal to connect the Connecticut and Hudson rivers.

George A. Sheldon was chosen to succeed himself as a trustee of the Permanent Fund, Judge Thompson to succeed himself as trustee of the Publishing Fund, and Mrs. Sheldon to succeed herself as curator.

There was a short period of stories and reminiscences with C. W. Hazelton, Judge Thompson, Mrs. Herbert Childs, the Messrs. Chase of Boston, the Messrs. Tucker of Milton and Newton, Mr. Marsh of Quincy, Dr. W. H. Pierce of Greenfield, Mr. Luther of Amherst, Hal Dadmun, and others, speaking briefly. Mr. Hazelton recalled the early street railway days when he was a Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature, and referred to the new road being constructed, which will take the heavy traffic off Deerfield Street, and gave reminiscences of Horatio Hoyt. Dr. Pierce regretted the passing of the Old Family Doctor, who now has gone the way of the street railway and the horse.

On motion of Rev. C. P. Wellman, greetings were sent to the youngest member of the Association, John Estabrook, a New York boy in his early teens, who was unable to be present.

Following the Council meeting an appetizing supper was served in the town hall by the women of Deerfield.

At the evening session the following papers were given: Historical paper "Elihu Smead Hawkes," by Joseph LeRoy Harrison, librarian Forbes Library, Northampton, read by

Mr. Luther of Amherst. "The Freedom Suit," by Miss Margaret C. Whiting. "Dr. James Kendall Hosmer," by Prof. Ralph S. Hosmer of Cornell University. "A Returning Tide," a genealogical record of Joseph Stebbins, captive of 1704, who was carried to Canada and never came back, to his very great-granddaughter, Emma Jane Stebbins Frenier, wife of the author of the paper, J. Henry Frenier of Rutland, Vt.

The music, which was a feature of the evening, was in charge of Jonathan P. Ashley. The quartette included Mrs. Whitman B. Wells, soprano; Miss Harriet Kelley of Greenfield, alto; George R. Bliss of Greenfield, tenor; and Jonathan P. Ashley, bass. Miss Nina L. Day was accompanist. The selections included "Home Again," "Child of Mortality," "Anthem for Easter," solo by Miss Kelley, "Loch Lomond," "When You and I Were Young, Maggie," and "Auld Lang Syne."

REPORT OF CURATOR.

The outstanding effort of the past year has been the examination and cataloguing of the large number of manuscript papers of Colonel Elihu Hoyt of Deerfield. Miss Frances S. Drenning of Greenfield and the Curator have done this work. With the exception of three years Colonel Hoyt was in our State Legislature thirty years, dying in office. The letters have been classified in three groups, those bearing on legislative matters; those relating to Deerfield, and personal or family letters. The legislative group is especially interesting, and offers material for an original paper.

Our broadsides have been catalogued and the Family Manuscript boxes brought down to date.

One of the most gratifying events of the year has been the placing of a memorial tablet in the Memorial Room to Francis and Joseph Barnard. This has been done by a direct descendant, Sir Frank Stillman Barnard of Victoria, B. C.,

with the interested coöperation of Mrs. Edith Barnard Delano of Deerfield.

Nine thousand one hundred and thirty-nine persons have visited Memorial Hall, the tide rising in the month of August to 2640. Labor Day brought 241 persons, the largest number on any legal holiday. These visitors have registered from 41 States, and from the following foreign countries: Canada, Germany, Denmark, England, France, Italy, Holland, Turkey, South Africa, Egypt, Syria, China, Japan, Burma, South India, Virgin Islands and Australia.

An unusually large number of schools have availed themselves of the collection, a great many young children coming through the year. I will give a list of these schools because it shows a more widespread interest:

MacDuffie School, Springfield; Pine Street School, East Northfield; Crittenden and Baker schools, Shelburne Falls; South School, Shutesbury; Hallock Memorial School, Plainfield; South School, Colrain; Sumner Ave. School, Springfield; Primary and Grammar Schools, Buckland Centre; Turners Falls 7th grade; Tabor Academy, Marion; Choate School, Wallingford, Conn.; District No. 3, Greenfield; Davis Street School, Robert Reed, principal, at least four visits with different classes; Federal Street School, Greenfield, Grades V, VI; Deerfield Academy, Eaglebrook Lodge, The Bement School, all of Deerfield; Northfield Seminary; Sanderson Academy, Ashfield; Art Class and Class in Folk Dancing, M. A. C., Amherst; Clarke University, Worcester; Mt. Holyoke College; Amherst College; Smith College.

The following Boy Camps have visited us: Camp Ashfield, Ashfield; Mohawk Lodges, Huntington; Camp Wickaboag, West Brookfield; Shelter Camp, Marlboro, Vt.

The following organizations have enjoyed the Hall:

Current Events Club, Winchester, N. H.; Rebekahs, North Adams; Sewing Club, "Work-Away Girls," Buckland; County Leaders of State at Farm and Home Week, Amherst; General Conference, Northfield; Riverside Motor Tours, New York; Ladies accompanying Delegates to Paper Conference held in Holyoke; Massachusetts Federation of Planning Boards.

A large number of gifts have been received, consisting of 123 books and pamphlets, and 103 articles, totaling 226 contributions.

Arthur H. Tucker of Milton, a councillor of the Association, has most generously given many copies of his valuable paper on "Hope Atherton and his Times" for sale for the benefit of the Association. The hearty thanks of the Society are due Mr. Tucker.

The Model of the "Old Indian House," designed and contributed by Mrs. Matilda S. Hyde, a member of the Association, is an extremely unique gift, and a valuable addition to our Indian Room.

William Delano has contributed 18 Civil War relics of his father, Jesse A. Delano, of Sunderland. Mrs. E. G. Patrick has placed with us many relics illustrating domestic life and Mrs. Luther W. Clark a large number of books and pamphlets. Mrs. Mary A. Wells has presented a beautiful oil portrait of Mary Millicent Wells, 1819–49, daughter of Thaddeus Coleman of Greenfield. Other gifts have been acknowledged through the columns of the *Gazette and Courier*.

It is a rather interesting fact that the *History of Deerfield* by Mr. Sheldon has been ordered this year, not only from the East and Middle West but also from California, Montana and North Dakato.

The assistant, Miss N. Theresa Mellen, has continued the cataloguing of the year's addition to the library, which now numbers over 20,000 books and pamphlets. With rare skill and endurance she, with a helper, brought order out of chaos, in the springtime, the chaotic condition being due to the placing of fireproof windows in the main building. Now we are all congratulating ourselves on the safe and excellent condition of Memorial Hall.

Respectfully submitted,
J. M. Arms Sheldon.

Deerfield, Feb. 28, 1928.

NECROLOGY.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF ROBERT H. FULLER.

Taken, in part, from "Greater New York."

Robert Higginson Fuller was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, September 18, 1864, the son of George and Agnes Higginson Fuller. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1888. In that year he became a member of the staff of the *Worcester Spy*. The following year he went to Albany, N. Y., as associate editor of the *Evening Journal*, remaining there until 1895, when he became political reporter and legislative correspondent for the *New York Herald*.

When Governor Hughes took office in 1907, he named Mr. Fuller his secretary, a position which the latter held until July, 1910, when he became a member of the State Water Supply Commission. The following year Mr. Fuller became editor of the *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, in which position he continued until January, 1912, when he was drafted by the Merchants' Association for service as publicity manager.

To the day, almost to the very moment, of his death, he carried on in this capacity, serving as editor of the Association's weekly journal, *Greater New York*, until that publication was supplemented by the *Service Bulletin*, which he also compiled and edited. News of the Association's actions was promptly and faithfully reported by Mr. Fuller to the daily and trade press, for which he also prepared countless articles descriptive of New York in all its varied phases.

Recently Mr. Fuller signed a contract with the Macmillan Company, for the publication of his latest book *Jubilee Jim*. He was the author of the *Golden Hope*, also *Government by the People*, and of numerous magazine articles. In drawing and painting he displayed talents of a high order. His wife, Mrs. Bessie Clagett Fuller, two daughters, Mrs. Howard J. Savage of Scarsdale and Mrs. C. Prentice Goodhue of Manhattan, a sister, Mrs. Augustus V. Tack and two brothers, Harry Fuller, a painter, and Arthur Fuller, an etcher, survive.

In Mr. Fuller's Memory.

"The Board of Directors of the Merchants' Association, at its meeting last Wednesday, adopted the following minute:

"With deep regret, the Board of Directors of the Merchants' Association of New York, by this official Minute, formally records the death of Robert Higginson Fuller, which occurred on December 23, 1927.

"As reporter, editor, State official, author and artist Mr. Fuller's career was one of versatile service and accomplishment which brought to this Association a peculiarly valuable background for its publicity service, when more than fifteen years ago he was selected as the manager of its Publicity Bureau.

"A high order of native intelligence broadened by a thorough education and a long and varied experience, gave to his work for the Association an outstanding distinction. His keen insight into human affairs and public relations was productive of wide recognition of the excellence of his writings on the diverse subjects related to the Association's activities.

"Gentle and generous by nature, yet stern in his demands for adherence to the ethics of his calling, he mingled the interesting moods of the artist with a sunny good fellowship and sound enthusiasm leading to wise counsel, effective effort and constructive results.

"In adopting this record of appreciation of his character and of his service to the Association, the Board of Directors expresses to his family its sincere sympathy in the loss which has befallen them."

JAMES TAYLOR WETHERALD.

BY A. K. HARDY OF BOSTON.

It is with feelings of deep and profound sorrow that we pause to pay a tribute of affection and regard to the memory of Mr. James Taylor Wetherald, of Boston, who died in Pasadena, California, on June 25th, 1927, and who was a life member of our Association.

Mr. Wetherald, a son of John and Sarah Taylor Wetherald, was born in Richmond, Ind., on Oct. 5th, 1858. He received his early education in the public schools of that city, and afterwards went to Toronto, Canada, where he began his business career with the *Toronto News*, and later with the Toronto Mail Publishing company. Growing out of his connection with that company, he edited and published the first *Newspaper Advertising Directory* in Canada.

In 1884, at the age of twenty-six, he came to Boston and entered the newspaper and magazine advertising business with Ubert K. Pettingill, under the name of Pettingill and Company. In 1900 he withdrew from that firm and began the advertising business on his own account and under his own name, and soon developed the largest and most successful newspaper and magazine advertising agency in New England.

He also became interested in and owner of concerns manufacturing proprietary medicinal preparations and toilet specialties, carrying on these two lines of business until his death. He undoubtedly enjoyed a larger acquaintance with retail druggists and newspaper publishers throughout the United States, than any other man.

On Oct. 10th, 1889, Mr. Wetherald married Eliza Phelps Winter of Newton.

Mr. and Mrs. Wetherald were both lovers of Colonial New England. In 1907 on a trip through Deerfield, they became imbued with the Colonial spirit and the beauty of its environment. In December, 1907, Mr. Wetherald purchased the old "Uncle Liph Dickinson" house, (known as Mulberry House) which was built about 1752, and presented it to Mrs. Wetherald as a Christmas present. Mr. Wetherald employed Horatio Hoyt and Son of Deerfield, both lovers of antiques, to restore the Colonial house and make it more attractive.

Mrs. Wetherald being an artist of merit painted the entire inside of the "Tap Room" so-called, in Mulberry House, and Mr. Wetherald carved some charming panels for one of the doors.

They lived in Deerfield the greater part of each summer

for many years, taking part in all its activities. In 1911, Mr. Wetherald became a life-member of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association. He was very much interested in the history of Deerfield and in Mr. Sheldon's work. Soon after he joined the Society he took a trip to England, visited the British Museum and became acquainted with the Curator there who very kindly had photographs of two documents made for him, bearing the autographs of General Goffe. These he presented to the Pocumtuck Society and they were framed and now hang in Memorial Hall.

Owing to the failing health of Mrs. Wetherald and the necessity of spending so much time in a warmer climate, Mr. Wetherald sold Mulberry House in Deerfield and thereafter spent many months of each winter in Pasadena, California, but he always took a keen interest in Deerfield, and his associates here.

Mrs. Wetherald passed away in Pasadena, California, on Feb. 4th, 1924, leaving a son, Royal W., and a daughter, Dorothy P. Wetherald.

On June 13, 1925, Mr. Wetherald married Margaret N. Heywood of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, who survives him; also his son, Royal W., his daughter, Dorothy P. Wetherald, and a sister, Mrs. A. S. Grant, of Toronto, Canada.

Funeral services for Mr. Wetherald were held at Emmanuel Church in Boston, July 1st, 1927. He was buried in Newton Cemetery. In his death his family and friends have sustained an irreparable loss and the community an upstanding and influential citizen.

His winter home was at No. 2 Marlborough Street, Boston, and his summer home at Beach Bluff, Massachusetts.

Socially he was highly esteemed as a member of the Algonquin Club, the Brookline Country Club, the Tedesco Country Club, the Bostonian Society and the Hamilton Association. And for nine years he was Secretary of the Beacon Society of Boston. He was also Past Master, St. John's Lodge, A. F. and A. M.

Mr. Wetherald was a man to be loved for the genuine charm of his personal qualities among his friends and associates, and for the kind and generous character of his habit-

ual disposition toward everybody with whom he came in contact, either in business or social life.

The church and religious observance always made a peculiar appeal to him. He was for many years Vestryman of Emmanuel Church, Boston, and served as Treasurer for eight years. A man engrossed in large and widely extended business affairs, he was not without simple and sincere piety. Trust in God was part of his thinking and life, and his faith was strong, satisfying and true.

The predominant characteristics of his life, as we recall our many years of association with him, may be summed up in three words, accuracy, integrity and fidelity.

Accuracy of fact and fairness of statement signalized his whole career. His integrity was equally marked. He cherished uprightness and honor as pearls of great price. His opinions were prized by Boards of Trust and important councils as evidenced by his nine years' service as one of the Sinking Fund Commissioners of the City of Boston.

Fidelity, combined with hard, earnest and energetic labor, won for him the greatest of earthly honors,—the sincere regard and esteem of his fellowmen.

And now, it is well with him. "He has gone from out our bourne of Time and Place, to meet his Pilot face to face."

JENNIE EDITH SHELDON.

BY J. M. ARMS SHELDON.

In the silent hours when the depths of a human life are revealed to us, realities, shorn of the superficial, hold us absolutely. At such times pictures are seen, as clearly defined as though chiseled in marble, or painted on canvas. There may be many pictures, as there are many viewpoints, but, usually, from one to three of these pictures stand out from the others in strong relief. With Edith Sheldon, as she was always called, the three pictures may be named,

The Home Maker, The Child Educator and The Heroine in life's crises and in periods of physical pain.

In these days when, throughout our land, genuine home life is seriously threatened, it is sustaining to know a woman whose all-controlling passion was the Home. Recognizing this field as her own peculiar and beloved sphere of action she was here supreme. Her house was spotless, orderly and wondrously bright with flowers from her own dear garden. Here were birds singing merrily, and goldfish reveling in their fresh-water home. Here were pictures, books and precious heirlooms treasured with infinite pains. Here were her dearest, her husband and for many years, her child and "father," all objects of her perennial care. It was because she loved it all that one was impressed deeply and joyfully.

As The Child Educator, Edith Sheldon was invincible. Her child, every child, must be educated. Not for scholarship only, not for the limelight, not because fashion favored it, but every child must be educated for life, for the sphere which, in all probability, that child would fill. Ofttimes I have been thrilled by the might of her resolution. It was like an on-sweeping stream that knows no obstacle, no barrier, and is as sure of its goal as the eternal stars in their courses. This unalterable conviction was a revelation of wisdom, and a prophecy of a better educated race.

The third picture, The Heroine, is a picture of strength and sweetness combined. It may be said with truth that Edith Sheldon met every emergency with poise and rare efficiency. Through the tedious years of physical suffering her natural leadership and her unyielding courage never failed—not even at the very end. It was these qualities, especially, which made her friends not only admire but love her.

I have spoken of the three indelible pictures. Justice would not be done if it were not stated that Edith Sheldon's interests and sympathies were not confined wholly within the boundaries of her Home. These interests were vital, but were subordinate to the supreme interest. She was a member of the Board of Organized Work of the Franklin County Public Hospital. Member of the Arcana Chapter

of the Eastern Star. Member of the Woman's Club and of the Alliance of the Third Congregational Society of Greenfield. She was a life member of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, which she joined in 1900, and member of the Cheshire County Historical Society of New Hampshire. She was also a faithful and conscientious voter on town, state and national issues.

Surely, with such a record of private and public usefulness the word VICTORIOUS may be written after the name of Jennie Edith Sheldon.

Jennie Edith Patch born in Worcester, Massachusetts, September 28, 1874.

Jennie Edith Patch Sheldon, wife of George Arms Sheldon of Greenfield, died in Boston, July 11, 1927.

RAFTING ON THE SUSQUEHANNA.

OR MEMORIES OF WAITE GERRY, WRITTEN DOWN BY MRS. MARY E. MILLER.

How I came to be in the lumbering business in the year 1852 in the black forests of Pennsylvania was in this wise. I was born in the southern part of the State of New York. I grew up a youth fond of adventure. My first savings after coming of age were $600, with which I meant to go to California. When I went to New York City to engage a passage the money was returned to me, all the berths being engaged six months ahead, so great was the rush in the days of the gold fever.

While I still had the money in my pocket an uncle from Pennsylvania came over to our part of the country. He was a man of inventions and had on hand a treadmill power he was in haste to finish for exhibition at the fall county fairs. Being low in funds he borrowed my money. I did not care. What need of filthy lucre has a man with hands that can do a

hundred different things to put bread in his mouth? I was a happy-go-lucky fellow to whom change and novelty were as the breath of life. So when my uncle proposed that I should go over the border and engage with his nephew in the lumbering business, I accepted. All winter-long my cousin and I worked at this. We employed gangs of men to get out and haul the lumber from Rocky Forest two miles away to the Susquehanna River to be rafted down in the spring.

I stood one day looking at our raft, which was now made up and floated in the river waiting for the freshets. It was very large, of heavy green timber and sank deep in the water. "How d'ye think 'twould do to take a ride on that two hundred miles to Port Deposit?" I said to my partner cousin who stood by, " 'Twould be a lark, eh?" He replied, "I don't know about that. I'd like right well to see Port Deposit, but if you've no objections, I'd a leetle ruther go by stagecoach." I looked in surprise at my cousin, whose fine, athletic figure and sparkling eyes would have singled him out as full of fire of adventure in preference to me, whose plain countenance served only as a disguise of glow within. But never judge of a fruit by the rind. "What," said I, " go by the stagecoach when you might ride the raging flood and get some enjoyment!"

So it came about that he went by coach and I by raft.

The waters were high at last; the heavy raft with its platforms of lumber lashed tightly together, only waited the unhitching of the "snubbing rope," which held it to the shore. There was no cabin on it yet and we prepared to stop at Tunkhannock and build one. The provisions for our journey were aboard; the rowers took their places, three at the oar in front and three at the oar behind. The pilot, a biggish, red-faced man, came aboard. I seated myself midway, facing the down stream. The afternoon sun shone brightly; the air was clear, cool and invigorating. The rope was unhitched and the great, swaying, unwieldly craft rode the waves. Like a galloping steed the swollen stream seemed to leap and plunge beneath us; then we shot swiftly forward. We meant to turn in shore at the first "eddy." The oarsmen rowed with might and main, the pilot shouted madly,

"To the right, row, you rascals." The waters fought and prevailed. Majestically we sailed by the landing.

As we passed a good-natured man flung me a rope. I caught it and ran backward trying to find some projecting point or bar of timber to "snub" it on to. Finding none and unaware of my nearness to the end of the raft, I suddenly stepped off, and was in a flash struggling in the cold flood. I, no swimmer, if indeed a swimmer could have stemmed such a torrent, held by the rope and was swept along, buried in the seething waters till half by instinct I caught the submerged boughs of a tree and hauled myself up and so climbing along I reached the shore. The raft went on and by good fortune made landing at the next eddy. Here we left her awhile till the waters should abate. Meanwhile we built our cabin for a comfortable refuge from sun and rain.

Shortly after, the raft made another start with your humble servant aboard. All was plain sailing now. From early morn till nightfall we rafted, eating a dry lunch aboard. At sunset we rowed into some "eddy," a man jumped off with the snubbing rope which he quickly applied with a "half-hitch" to some post or tree used for that purpose. Often as I saw this done I never ceased to admire the dexterity with which it was managed. Any awkwardness might have drawn the rope taut, in which case it would have snapped, leaving the raft to career off down stream.

Then the men lighted a fire and set themselves to cooking. A hot supper of meat and potatoes was mighty acceptable to the ferocious appetites begot of a day on the river. With a breakfast cooked in the earliest hours by sunrise we were on our way again. We now made direct for the "shute," Shemoken dam (a shute is a passageway made beside the dam where the water runs down a smooth inclined plane). We went into the shute all right. Coming out we lost all control of the raft and she ran aground on a sand-bank. We thought best to leave her there till the "June Fresh." When that came we separated the raft into "platforms;" each platform held one length of lumber. These we floated down to Tunkhannock, where we joined them together. There we added to our load a lot of shingles. Down the river again

without trouble to Nanticoke dam. We aimed for the shute but instead of striking it straight went in "kitter-cornering." The side of the raft was broken. The shingles went flying and our fine cabin was tumbled down. When we came out of the shute we stopped and made repairs.

From there we had plain sailing to the Kenewowog Rapids. We went through there at a headlong pace, enough to take a man's breath away; three miles in five minutes. Our pilot shouted himself hoarse, the men plied their oars like mad first in one direction and then the opposite. We were halfway through when we nearly turned sideways. We were not wrecked, however, for we righted and kept on. We were nearly out of danger and in sight of smooth water ahead when the catastrophe we feared happened. The raft swung around and came leaping along sideways among the rocks and boiling water. The pilot yelled "We are all going to destruction over the big break!" We saw it ahead, the whole force of the stream rushing down and rising up in a big wave, which, had we struck it as it was rising, would have dashed us to pieces. Fortunately our raft came on it going down; so we got through safely, I, for one, thanking the Good Hand that had preserved us. We landed at Columbus, forty miles above Port Deposit. There our pilot left us and we took on a new one; also we had four men to each oar, for we were to make a dangerous passage. (It seemed to me that we had already been through several dangerous passages; so I wondered a little what we were coming to.)

The new pilot was a medium-sized man, good-looking, well-dressed, quick and nervous. Observing that our crew were mostly small men, he said, "I like little men. Big men are not active enough. I want men that can turn as quick as lightning."

Says an old English writer:

> "Give me the man that dares bestride
> The active sea-horse and with pride
> Through that huge field of waters ride.
> Who with his looks too can appease
> The ruffling winds and raging seas
> In midst of all their outrages."

It seemed to me that our river horse was as untameable as the active sea horse; I looked with pride and admiration on our pilot, who bestrode our raft as if he were lord of the river; his watchful eye never wandered, his shrill voice thundered out his commands unerringly. Our raft scraped the rocks but never swamped; she went betwixt Scylla and Charybdis a hundred times; Destruction opened her mouth to swallow us but we passed by on the other side, and at last triumphant on the top wave of victory rowed our craft into Port Deposit. There we fastened to the "snubbing" post with the air of its being an everyday occurrence. We went through the last forty miles in four hours!

We left behind us all along the route rafts stuck on the rocks or being dashed to pieces on the whirlpools.

FOUR FRONTIER LADS OF OLD HAMPSHIRE.

AN OLD MANUSCRIPT BY HON. F. M. THOMPSON: A SHORT EXTRACT, PRESENTED BY HIS SON, FRANCIS NIMS THOMPSON.

Both my father and his brother John could write rhymes about as easily as prose, but so little did my father value this ability that he seldom used it, and he almost never preserved such rhymes as he wrote. Two he kept, evidently because upon subjects of especial interest to his son.

I have long treasured a metrical story, charming to me, describing his tramping as a little boy with an older brother through pasture and wood to "Grandpa's," where they found an uncle making maple syrup or sugar, and the return to their mother; and among his unpublished papers I have recently found (in an envelope marked "Poem" in sarcastic quotation) a rhymed account of tragic incidents in the lives of some frontier lads of Northampton who became early settlers of Deerfield.

My father would not have read it to you, and apparently did not think it worth his while to perfect its rhyme and

rhythm; nor is the subject novel; yet it is an Indian story written by a man who knew his Indians, and it speaks graphically of local events and bears traces of its writer; so I shared with Mrs. Sheldon, and am asked to share with you, that short *portion* which tells of Captain Turner's battle at the salmon fishing falls on the nineteenth day of May, 1676.

The story from which this extract is taken is a long one, for it relates how in 1674 Zebediah Williams, James Bennett, Benoni Stebbins and Godfrey Nims together took the oath of allegiance to the King before the Court at Northampton, just after Bennett had married Mary Broughton and two years after Williams had married Mary Miller; how the very next year Williams fell with Captain Lothrop at Bloody Brook, and how when, the year after that, the other three frontiersmen fought the Indians at the fishing falls, Bennett was killed with Captain Turner; how in 1677 one Mary, the Widow Williams, married Nims and the other Mary, the Widow Bennett, married Stebbins, and how Stebbins, returning fearlessly that same year to desolate Deerfield to build a home for his bride, was captured by the red men and escaped; how the two Marys died in 1688 and 1689, each having borne her second husband twins and four other children, and the surviving husbands in 1691 and 1692 married other widows (for "Deerfield in Indian times was no place for single blessedness"); how Nims in 1694 lost his home by fire, a stepchild perishing in the flames, and how the following year, while he was riding to mill, his horse was shot under him and his companion was slain by Indians lying in ambush; how in 1703 they captured his eldest son and stepson and carried them to Canada; and, finally, how in the great massacre of 1704 Stebbins's home was successfully defended against the French and Indians, Stebbins alone being killed, while—on the contrary—at the Nims home all except Nims himself were slain or captured and of his twelve children and stepchildren then surviving but one escaped unharmed, that being Thankful, a married daughter (Mrs. Sheldon's ancestress); and how Godfrey Nims, the last of the four frontier lads and crushed by his losses, soon died.

In reading this extract, the story of the Falls Fight, we must remember that just eight months before had occurred the fatal ambush at Bloody Brook and that the little settlement at Deerfield had been abandoned. We may give this extract, as its title, the Indian name of the fishing falls:

Peskeompskut.

Spring comes apace; and from a peak
The beacon-fires a message speak:
The Redmen's chief has ordered all
To gather at the fishing fall
And stock their larder once again,
The while they plan a *new* campaign.

They fish, and feast, and plant their corn:
The Indians the White men *scorn;*
But Captain William Turner then
With one hundred and forty men
Leaves Hatfield at the close of day
To march *by night* along the way.

So by the moonbeam's misty light
They pass the place of Lothrop's fight,
And Deerfield's street, ruined and dead;
And then, by an old river bed,
They reach the Red Rocks fording place:
And still no scout of Redskin race
Is found on guard, to give alarm
That Englishmen intend them harm.

Through Little Hope they keep the trail,
Then march more free along the vale:
By fitful light of the moonbeam
They wade the Picomegan stream;
Then up the brook and through Great Swamp:
Weary and weakened by their tramp
They follow down the steep Fall Brook
Till Peskeompskut's roar the nook
Fills with a din that gives assurance
They're come where all of their endurance
Will meet its test at break of day.
Their horses tied, they start away,
Fall River ford, climb the hillside;
All keeping mute, *whate'er* betide.

With cautious steps, or creeping low,
Into the Redskins' camp they go;
And there, in silence and suspense,
All point their guns at sleeping tents
Of Indians who hear no sound
From English soldiers, gathered round
To pay with interest the score
Made by the Redmen heretofore.

At Captain Turner's "FIRE," "KILL,"
The muskets speak; but higher still,
As from their huts the Reds rush out,
Their voices "MOHAWK," "MOHAWK," shout.

Some perish in the raging stream;
And some are dazed, as in a dream,
While frenzied Christian Englishmen—
Like wiping out a serpent's den—
Kill savage warrior, papoose, squaw;
Believing they fulfill a law
And act within the Lord's command:—
Belief we fail to understand.

Comes from the mass a warning cry:—
"FLY FOR YOUR LIVES, MY BROTHERS, FLY;
King Philip with a thousand men
Is on Smead's Island there; and when
His warriors reach the western shore
Our cause is lost forevermore!"

Thus yells a captive English lad
Who in the rout and danger had
Made his escape from out the hands
Of the encamped Indian bands;
And as they fall back from this base
The rearguard now meets face to face
With hordes of Reds, who gather fast
To wreak avengeance for the past.

The warwhoop rings in frightened ears;—
The echoes double all their fears;—
And as the frantic steeds they gain
(Each for himself) no thoughts remain
For wounded friends or rearguard true:
To save one's scalp's all he may do.

One here, though, Jonathan Wells,
With voice and pleading gesture tells
The captain, Turner, to GO BACK
And on the Redmen make attack
So that the rearguard may (at best)
Have chances equal to the rest.
"BETTER SAVE SOME THAN LOSE THEM ALL"
Was Turner's answer to that call.

And now shouts Hinsdell, brave and good,
Reining his horse toward swampy wood,
"IF YOU WOULD SAVE YOUR LIVES THIS DAY
COME; FOLLOW ME, I'LL LEAD THE WAY":
So many flee through swamp and swale;
But prostrate here beside the trail
A hundred Indian warriors hide,
And here these Englishmen have died.

The others straggle toward the west;
Each doing for himself his best
To 'scape the whooping savage foe
Who hovers near or, lying low,
Picks off each man whose lame advance
Is brought that way by cruel chance

Where Picomegan's waters, green,
Lie before them in the scene,
Still closer do the Redmen press;
But Turner, sick and in distress,
Yet halts his steed until his men
Have crossed the river's ford, and then
Rides slowly through, till near the shore,
And then one shot rings out; then more.

Now Captain Holyoke has command,
And in the meadow makes a stand
While routed soldiers lose their fear;
And, though the Reds engage the rear
Until the southern bars are passed,
They keep their distance to the last;
And Holyoke, to his great renown,
Brings back his men to Hadley town.
James Bennett, Nims and Stebbins too,
Have shown what brave young men could do
Who, at the English sov'reign's call
To save the frontier, offered all:
And Bennett life itself did yield
Upon that bloody battle field.

It was a daring, stirring deed:
The English, hurt, did yet succeed
In breaking thus King Philip's power,
Which ever lessened from that hour.

ELIHU SMEAD HAWKES.

BY JOSEPH LEROY HARRISON OF NORTHAMPTON.

Dr. Elihu Smead Hawkes came to North Adams as a young man in 1830 and for half-a-century was one of the prominent physicians of northern Berkshire. To students of early local colonial history his ancestry is of interest. For six generations he was of straight New England stock, a stock typically Puritan, deeply religious and prominent in all civic matters. Besides their activity in the church and the affairs of the community in general his forbears, either on the paternal or maternal side, took part in all of the Indian wars that followed each other almost without a break from the Pequot war of 1633 to the Last French war of 1763. His father, Samuel, was born in Fort Hawkes, Charlemont, in 1760. His great-grandfather, Eliezer, served in the Old French war. Eliezer's father, also Eliezer, was with Capt. William Turner at the Falls Fight, 1676, King Philip's War, and was a brother of Lieutenant-Colonel John Hawkes, who, as sergeant, was in command of Fort Massachusetts when attacked by General de Vaudreuil on that memorable twentieth of August, 1746, during the Old French war. The original ancestor was John Hawkes, who was of Lynn, Mass., in 1634, and in 1659 was one of the original proprietors of Hadley, Mass., his home lot becoming subsequently the birthplace of Gen. Joseph Hooker. Historians say that the ancestors of the Deerfield Hawkeses emigrated from Flanders, as Protestant refugees, to the Norwich district, East Anglica, England, and, in turn, owing to civil wars and the persecutions of the Stuarts, from England to America.

Three generations of the Hawkes family were identified with Charlemont as well as Deerfield. In 1743 the second Eliezer bought five hundred acres of land and lived there for several years. Seth Hawkes, Dr. Hawkes's grandfather, with his brothers, Gershom and Joshua, removed from Deerfield to Charlemont in 1749 and were among its first settlers. Their homes, picketed for protection, became Fort Hawkes, a part of the line of fortifications that during the Last French war stretched from Sheldon's Fort, along the Deerfield and over the Hoosac mountain to Fort Massachusetts. The site of the fort, on the Mohawk Trail, in Charlemont, is now marked by a large boulder. At the close of the war Dr. Hawkes's father went to Deerfield, where for nearly fifty years he lived at the old Hawkes homestead, but in 1808 he returned to Charlemont, and died there in 1847.

Dr. Hawkes's mother was Mary Smead. She was fifth in descent from William Smead, who was of Northampton, Mass., in 1659, and subsequently moved to Deerfield, becoming one of its early permanent settlers. He saw service in King Philip's war. Her father, Ebenezer, and her grandfather, Joseph, both served in the Last French war. She was a lineal descendant of Deacon Samuel Chapin, the sturdy Puritan who typifies Springfield on its municipal flag and whose statue by Saint Gaudens stands in one of its public parks. On the maternal side Dr. Hawkes also goes back to such well-known New England families as the Catlins, Fields, Stebbinses and Strattons and on the paternal to the Wellses, Allises, Beldings and Smiths.

Elihu S. Hawkes was born in Deerfield, July 25, 1801. From an early age and up to the time his father removed to Charlemont he attended Deerfield Academy, founded in 1797, and one of the best schools of its day. In Charlemont his father, finding the educational facilities inadequate, after a year sent his son to Buckland. Here until he was fourteen he lived with his uncle, Dr. Joseph Allen, completing his elementary schooling and probably forming a taste for the profession he subsequently adopted. Then followed two years at the newly-established Sanderson Academy at Ashfield. One of its pupils at this time was Mary Lyon,

the founder of Mount Holyoke College. When speaking of his early schooldays Dr. Hawkes always delighted to pay this tribute to Miss Lyon:

"Mary Lyon was truly a wonderful personage. She commenced the Latin grammar with a group of some eight or ten of us but was soon in a class by herself. When we were only a little way in the Latin reader she was scanning Virgil and could hear our recitations."

Finishing his course at the Academy at seventeen Dr. Hawkes's purpose was to begin the study of medicine, but his family thought him too young and persuaded him to enter a store at Rowe. Here he remained as clerk or partner for four years, also finding some time for teaching. Then began, at the age of twenty, his four years of hard and continuous study of medicine. In the spring of 1821 he commenced preliminary reading with Drs. Enos Smith and Atherton Clark, of Ashfield, going from them to Dr. Winslow, of Coleraine. In the fall of 1823 he attended his first course of lectures at the Berkshire Medical Institution, recently established at Pittsfield and connected in its charter rights with Williams College. Between his first and last courses he read with Dr. Seth Washburn, of Greenfield, Dr. Pardon Haynes, of Rowe, and resided for some time in Boston, where he enjoyed all the privileges of the Massachusetts General Hospital, then closely associated with Harvard College, including clinics and lectures. In 1825 he returned to Pittsfield for his final courses and received his diploma that fall with the graduating class at Williams College.

Immediately after graduation Dr. Hawkes entered the office of Dr. Haynes, of Rowe. He remained with him for five years, in 1826 marrying his daughter, Adeline. She died within two years of their marriage, and after her death Dr. Hawkes abandoned his purpose of remaining indefinitely in Rowe. In 1830 he took up his residence in North Adams. In the fall of 1831 he married Sophia E. Abbey, who, though born in Natchez, Miss., was of New England stock. Her father, David Abbey, was a direct descendant of John Abbey, who came to this country from England in the early

sixteen-hundreds, and her mother, Sophia Arms, the fourth generation from William Arms, who settled in Deerfield about 1698. It may be of interest to note that, on the Arms side, Mrs. Hawkes's ancestry goes back to the Baldwins, Burts, Lawrences, Nimses and Sheldons, all Connecticut Valley families, and that, on the paternal side, Edwin A. Abbey, the artist, was of collateral descent.

In the seventies, during the latter years of his life, Dr. Hawkes wrote a series of articles which appeared in the *Hoosac Valley News* under the heading "Reminiscences of North Adams." In the first installment he writes of his coming to North Adams, describes the village of a hundred years ago and gives a brief outline of his larger real estate transactions. As the narrative is of historical value it is given in full:

"In the summer or fall of 1829 I came to this village with a view of locating. There were then four physicians here—Dr. Hodges, the oldest and most prominent; Dr. Brayton, who was the principal surgeon, and Drs. Brown and Field. Dr. Field was a graduate of Williams College and also a graduate of the Berkshire Medical Institution, young and enterprising, just fitted for the place I was leaving. Dr. Brown, his partner, was about to go South in the last stages of consumption. As he owned the house, office, etc., standing where Mr. Sanford Blackinton now lives, I bought them. Dr. Hodges having a short time previously sold out to Drs. Brown and Field and given his bond not to practice medicine any longer in Adams and the bond having been assigned to me by them, I made arrangements with him to do business for me until I came.

"The Rev. J. W. Yeomans then occupied the house which I had purchased from Dr. Brown and on my taking possession of the property I boarded with him. It was a period full of interest to me, to Mr. Yeomans, to the church and society.

"At this time there were but two houses on Church Hill besides mine—one a small house with two rooms standing where A. W. Richardson's [1] house now stands, the other a

[1] The present Methodist parsonage.

farmhouse belonging to James Mixer, deacon of the Baptist church, near Mr. E. S. Wilkinson's residence. The first Baptist church, a wooden building, had been moved from a little south of the Mixer house to the spot where it now stands as a dwelling and cabinet shop, just north of the present church, and a small brick church built in front of it. This was taken down twenty-five years after for the erection of the present structure. There had also been land purchased for a Congregational church and parsonage, a small brick church building erected and the parsonage partially built.

"There was but one street aside from the three roads that passed through the village. One was a turnpike, with toll gates, running from Williamstown to the Charlemont line; one a county road from Cheshire to Stamford, where the road still runs, passing over what are now called North and South Church and Eagle Streets, and the third the town road from North to South Adams, entering the village over Hickey Hill and crossing the Robinson bridge. When the road was changed and the river crossed at its present point [1] a colloquy ensued between Mr. William P. Brayton and others in relation to the name he gave the new street, on which he had built the first house. He called it State Street. The opinion of some was that it should be called Mud Street. Mr. Brayton replied by way of prediction that 'the time would come when as many teams would pass over it as now pass over State Street, Boston,' and the prediction is being fulfilled.

"But to return to the village as it was. The population as taken in April, 1830, was 466 in the village. In what is called the Union there was a small woolen mill, owned by Burk, Ingalls and Wells, and a saw mill where the Arnold cotton factory now is, run by William Gould, a deacon of the Congregational church. There was no Union Street at that time, nor any road or residence above the saw mill, except in the woods. The only way to the Union was over what was called the Clay road, now washed away.

"Other streets were established and changes made. As I

[1] Near the railroad bridge.

had much to do with the work and the land conveyances my name will necessarily be somewhat prominent in this sketched history as it is on the public real estate records.

" My first purchase included the land now covered by Sanford Blackinton's two houses on Main and South Church Streets and the houses owned and occupied by Dr. Tyler's family and Mrs. Ingalls.[1]

"I next purchased of William Waterman, of Williamstown, in company with Mr. Stephen Damon for $1400, twenty acres of land lying south and east of my first purchase, adjoining it and running on Church Street south to the Mixer farm, thence easterly on the north line of the same farm, thence northerly on this farm to the turnpike above Mr. Miner's residence, thence westerly on that road (West Main Street) to the original corner lot.

"My third purchase was of Mr. Yeomans of the east part of the lot that had been bought for a church and parsonage.

"My fourth purchase was with John Holden of land north of the village, between Center (then called Back) Street and the north branch of the Hoosac River—beginning at the east on land now owned and occupied by the Misses Streeter and extending west between said street and the river to the old factory grounds (site of the first factory built in the town), on land where Marshall Street now runs. Across this land we opened a street, from Main, at the Wilson house (then Smith tavern), to the river, and called it Holden Street.

"My fifth purchase included land, with some buildings, on the south side of Main Street, from the present Burlingham block to Dr. Phillips's house and bookstore, extending back to Summer Street. This was purchased by Jenks Kimball and myself, except the stone office [2] which is now there. Mr. Kimball took what was the Tinker property, now occupied by the National and Savings banks, Robinson & Sons printing office, the police, courtroom and the Bowerman property; I took the south part. After Bank Street was laid

[1] Now the public library and the two houses just south of it.

[2] Corner Bank and Main Streets.

out I sold to L. Marsh the lot where Mr. W. W. Freeman [1] lives, and to Mr. A. P. Butler, on the west side of Bank Street, the lot where Mrs. Butler [2] lives. The remainder of the property we held in common for several years. This included what is now J. H. Flagg's livery stable (owned by Mrs. D. J. Kimball) and the stores, tenements and offices owned by Mrs. Fisker.[3]

"Other purchases of this period were:

"First. The lot where Mr. H. S. Millard lives. On this I built a small house, which has been removed to the rear of the present residence.

"Second. The lot on which the Episcopal church stands and two of the houses east of it.

"Third. Land over which Ashland Street runs, from Summer to Quincy Streets, was my individual purchase. I gave the land and made the street. From Quincy to Chestnut Streets Mr. Bradford and I owned the land. Together we made and gave the streets. From Chestnut Street south through Ashland Street Mr. Richmond and I gave the land and made the roads.

"The next purchase I made was about the same amount of land on the south side of the village, and adjoining land I had previously purchased on the east and land Mr. John Holden and myself had bought together on the north.

"My last purchase extended from the East road, at Mr. A. B. Darling's and Mrs. S. A. C. Porter's residences, on South Church Street, to the Pittsfield and North Adams railroad, near the depot. On this purchase I laid out Washington Street, Washington Avenue and Spring Street and extended Ashland Street, giving the land. I had in all made a full mile of streets, at a cost of not less than two dollars per rod."

On coming to North Adams Dr. Hawkes identified himself with the Congregational church, whose first house of worship had been dedicated in the fall of 1828 and which was then struggling hard under the able leadership of the

[1] These properties were on the opposite corners of Bank and Summer, the Berkshire hotel now occupying one site.

[2] See a paragraph above.

[3] The old wooden Collins block.

Rev. John W. Yeomans to firmly establish itself in the community. Thirty years later the church had so grown in strength and numbers that the present edifice was erected. At the laying of its cornerstone, October 6, 1863, Dr. Hawkes acted as master of ceremonies. It was through him that Samuel J. Whitton, whom he had befriended as a boy, and later, in the early days of the gold-rush, assisted in going to California, gave to the new church the great bell that hangs in its tower, a thousand dollars in money and generously to its organ fund.

In February, 1896, Mr. E. A. Wright, who contributed to the *North Adams Transcript* under the pen-name, "The Berkshire Bohemian," wrote a delightful story for the paper about Mr. Whitton and the bell. In speaking of Dr. Hawkes's kindness to young Whitton he said:

"Miss Hawkes and Mrs. Harrison, now residing in the old homestead where their father so long lived, under the shadow of the church for which he did so much, have in their possession a magnificent set of silver of 45 pieces, with gold set in the handles of the knives, forks and spoons, a present from Mr. Whitton to Dr. Hawkes. The gold used was from nuggets obtained by the giver in California. Accompanying the valuable present was a letter from Mr. Whitton saying it was to pay for that pair of shoes in which the doctor had tried to turn a boy's feet in the right direction."

At the diamond jubilee of the church in 1902 the Rev. William L. Tenney, in his review of the history of the church, paid this tribute to Dr. Hawkes:

"During the pastorate of Dr. Yeomans the church received into its membership by letter from the church in Rowe, Dr. E. S. Hawkes, who for years found time in the midst of his busy practice as the leading physician of the community, to work for the church, not only in the way of valued material assistance but by the espousal of the highest moral and spiritual standards. The work of the first five pastors of this church could not have been what it was had it not been for the assistance of this best type of the Puritan, Christian physician and gentleman."

On the same occasion the Rev. Dr. Theodore T. Munger, in speaking of the years of his pastorate of the church, said:

"Rev. Ezekiel Russell was a man of sound learning, of intellectual ability far beyond the average, of relentless orthodoxy, but a man of warm and generous feeling—a Puritan of the first order; a man whose rock-like strength was yet full of kindness and good will. During my pastorate he preached the funeral sermon of Dr. Elihu S. Hawkes. In some things the two men were alike; each was loyal to his profession, and served his day and generation under a high standard of duty."

In his "Reminiscences" Dr. Hawkes writes of two events in the early history of the village, the establishment of the first newspaper and of the first Sunday-school. His brief story of these important steps is a striking revelation of his enterprise and practical interest in the church:

"At this time very little had been done for Sabbath schools. The village had gained in population to a very considerable extent. The manufacturing operations were increasing. Mechanics and artisans were coming in and providing themselves residences. At this time a large press which had been established and operated for a short time at Williams College was offered for sale for $1200. As there was no place to put it nor anyone willing to hazard the enterprise, I assumed it myself. I erected a building in my yard, in the northwest corner of what is now Mr. S. Blackinton's [1] dooryard, forty-four by twenty-two feet in size and two-and-a-half stories high. All of the second story was used for a printing office and the third story for purposes connected with it. The front end of the first story I prepared for a Sabbath-school room, where Miss Rhoda Streeter commenced her Sabbath-school operations and the beginning of this kind of work in Adams. She was prepared to take her place at the prayer-meetings or look up the wayward children who were running wild on Sabbath-day mornings, which she did faithfully with my help or alone when I was unable to assist.

"Having purchased a printing press and erected it I sought

[1] Now the site of the North Adams Public Library.

an editor. I found one in Alexander H. Wells, a popular, energetic man and a good editor, but without money. He stood the pressure about as long as Mr. Parsons, then left me to reflect on my printing enterprise. I sold the press and type to Mr. John Holden for one-half what it cost and the building to Mr. George Mallory for one-fourth what it cost. Mr. Holden put Mr. Mitchell again into the printing office and we had a very good paper while he conducted it. But political or some other controversies then duplicated the papers, and both [1] have been marching onward until they are scarcely outdone by any of the weekly journals of the day."

Perhaps next to the church Dr. Hawkes's outside interest centered in the school. It was through his efforts that Drury Academy was founded. He was one of the directors under Mr. Drury's will and remained on the board of directorship until his death in 1879. His account of the founding of Drury appeared in the *Transcript* half a century ago. Because it gives so vivid a picture of Dr. Hawkes's broad activities and because of its historical importance the narrative is reprinted here in full:

"The Drury Academy; whence was it? I propose to give a brief sketch of its history:

"About fifty years ago there lived in the towns of Florida and Monroe two wealthy men. They were not Astors or Vanderbilts, but in those days fifty thousand dollars made as much of a money-king as fifty million does at this time. They were personal friends of mine. Before I came to Adams I had for several years attended both families in my professional capacity and had become quite intimate with them. After I came here my house was their stopping-place. I was interested in more extensive educational advantages for the village. Mr. Gore, of Monroe, came to my home and I suggested to him the idea of doing something that would carry his name down to posterity as a benefactor. The subject of an academy came up. He said he would consider the matter and call again. In a few weeks he called and made a report, which was that he would give three thousand dollars to establish a public school, provided that at all times

[1] *Hoosac Valley News* and *North Adams Transcript*.

he should have the power to dictate the character of the teachers, he being (as he said) 'a free-thinker in religious matters.' This, I found, would be a bar to any concert of action among the citizens of the village.

"About this time Mr. Drury, of Florida, was taken sick. He was attended by Dr. Hodges, who was then assisting me in my professional business. Mr. Drury was a strong Baptist, but did not wish to dictate in the matter of teachers. We had a talk relative to the subject matter of Mr. Gore's proposition, and it was agreed that he should introduce the subject to Mr. Drury, and see what he would do. The next day the doctor made a favorable report so far as the school project was concerned, but whatever was done must be done quickly, as his time here would be short. Whereupon we both went, without delay, to Florida and had the writings drawn and executed immediately. Dr. Hodges was made the receiver and dispenser of all his property, under the direction or by the assent of his wife, who soon vested all the power in the doctor without restriction or limitation. The doctor then decided that I must procure and prepare the grounds and he would see to the construction of the building; all of which was done. The matter of location was a subject of considerable controversy. I had decided upon the present location, but many preferred the low ground somewhere between Main Street and the river. The contest was somewhat sharp, but Deacon Ingalls, Mr. Wells and some others being in favor of the elevation, we succeeded.

"The next thing on my part was the preparation of the ground. In order to get one hundred and twenty feet surface level, east and west, the hill had to be lowered seventeen feet, which in those days was thought to be quite a job. The task was accomplished in about six weeks and cost about four hundred dollars. In doing this work one important fact was demonstrated—thirteen feet below the surface under the summit we found a tree about fifteen inches in diameter imbedded in gravel, the body entire, apparently hard wood, lying north and south, showing that the hill was formed by a mighty rush of water from the north, bringing all kinds of rocks and trees with it. The presumption would be that the

town of Stamford was once a lake; that the bar was at the Beaver mill, or the Glen mill, and that the breaking away of this body of water prepared a location for our celebrated Academy, with the little grading and smoothing which we gave it.

"And then Dr. Hodges commenced the work of constructing the building. After it was completed I had the honor of formally presenting the same to the Board of Trustees, whose members were appointed by Dr. Hodges. The board comprised the following gentlemen: Amasa Bixbee, Josiah Q. Robinson, Thomas Tower, Elihu S. Hawkes, Thomas Robinson, William E. Brayton, Alpheus Smith, Edward B. Penniman, Sanford Blackinton, Harvey Arnold, Stephen B. Brown and Benjamin Hathaway. Dr. Hodges was made the first president of the board. The seat in the board occupied by me having become vacant by my removal to Troy, it was filled by William Martin, and after my return I was reinstated on the death of Mr. Arnold.

"Aside from Dr. Hodges and myself, who were actively engaged in the work all the time from beginning to end, no one took so much interest in it or did so much as William E. Brayton, Esq., who was foremost in all enterprises of a public character."

Dr. Hawkes was one of the earliest friends of the Hoosac Tunnel. By 1848, less than two decades from the time he began practice in North Adams, a railroad had been built from Boston to Greenfield, paralleling the Boston and Albany. In that year the Troy and Greenfield Railroad offered to complete the road from Greenfield, through the mountain, to the Vermont State line. Three years later work was begun. The *Transcript* of January 9, 1851, gives this account of the first breaking of ground for the railroad and the tunnel:

"Ground was broken for the Troy and Greenfield R. R. on Wednesday last, January 8th. The time for making arrangements was short, it having been determined to do it on this date only on the afternoon previous. The occasion was honored by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon and other demonstrations. A procession formed at the North Adams House and preceded by a band marched to the spot

designated for commencing operations, on a hill a little west of the North Adams Iron Company. (Dr. Crawford states this spot was just at west end of Little Tunnel.) Arriving on the ground prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Crawford, who invoked divine blessing and propitious smiles of Providence on the undertaking. Brief and appropriate remarks were made by Hon. George Grinnell, president of the corporation, and received with loud cheers. At the close Mr. Grinnell took a shovel and commenced the work, being followed by Mr. Edwards the engineer, and directors. Dr. Hawkes was among these, having become a member of the first board."

The tunnel received its second christening, so to speak, on February 9, 1875. On the afternoon of the bitter cold winter day, with the thermometer nine degrees below zero, the first train came through the mountain and the vision of half a century became a practical, working reality. There was no public demonstration. The train, consisting of a locomotive, the "N. C. Munson," driven by George C. Cheney, three platform cars and an ordinary freight car, made the trip through the tunnel, from east to west, in thirty-four minutes. There were about 125 persons on the train, among whom were Chief Engineer Frost, Dr. Elihu S. Hawkes, Engineer W. P. Granger and Consulting Engineer Doane.

The plans of the first survey of Engineer A. F. Edwards for the Troy and Greenfield Railroad were filed in the office of the Clerk of the Courts in Pittsfield by President George Grinnell and these directors: Daniel Wells, Cephas Root, Jenks Kimball, S. H. Reed, S. V. R. Hoxsey, L. C. Thayer, Josiah Ballard, Elihu S. Hawkes, John Porter, E. G. Lamson. In 1855, during the uncertain days of the tunnel, Dr. Hawkes was elected to the General Court, as a special advocate of the enterprise. And finally, at the age of seventy-six, at a dinner given in North Adams to the Fitchburg Board of Trade, he responded to the toast, "One of the Pioneers of the Hoosac Tunnel." Thus, during the quarter-century between the turning of the first sod and the coming through of the first train, Dr. Hawkes's enthusiasm did not flag, his faith falter or his work cease.

The Battle of the Wilderness was fought during Dr.

Hawkes's brief residence in Troy. He responded at once to the call for volunteer surgeons and was present with the Army of the Potomac during the succession of engagements following that battle. It is stated the total number of wounded received in Washington from Fredericksburg (those of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House) was 21,966. Writing to his wife from this city, under date of May 19, 1864, Dr. Hawkes says:

"I arrived here last night mid scenes of excitement and tumult. About twenty of us, members of the Sanitary and Christian commissions and of the Surgical department, left Belle Plaine about eight o'clock yesterday morning, pretending to ride in ambulance wagons, but we had to foot it half the way on account of the roughness of the road, which I could not describe if I attempted it. We were accompanied by some five hundred or more supply wagons, and were eight hours going what they called ten miles; you see what it must be to move an army with heavy guns in the wet season of the year. There were about fourteen thousand recruits passed over the same roads the same day and the previous day. When we arrived at Frederic our ambulance train was sent directly to the front to bring those that were wounded and had fallen that morning.

"At night I found myself in a half-demolished city, in every respect ruined, without an acquaintance or a place to rest my weary limbs. But in my wanderings I met our old friend, Dr. McLean, who kindly took me to his stopping-place. I shall probably stay where I am while here. The house was shelled by Burnside about a year ago and has never been repaired. The ball holes are still used for ventilation.

"Dr. McLean has charge of some one-half dozen rooms, containing from ten to twenty wounded soldiers each, and he has given me a position which occupies my whole time at present. I have dressed some seventy-five to a hundred wounds today of different descriptions, and many of them twice—fifteen or twenty are amputated limbs.

"We hear from the field of battle every two or three hours. Those who come up speak very encouragingly about the prospect. Some represent Lee as nearly surrendered."

There are no data for a chronological sketch of the life of Dr. Hawkes. So far as he is personally concerned, his "Reminiscences" are almost entirely limited to his first years in North Adams. His interest in the church is as indicative of his deeply religious nature as his interest in the school and the Tunnel is of his broad civic spirit. Still another instance of the latter is found in his service as chairman of the committee in charge of an effort made in 1844 to erect a commemorative monument on the site of Fort Massachusetts. John Quincy Adams, then president of the United States, was invited to deliver the address at the laying of its foundation. His letter of declination, addressed to Dr. Hawkes, now hangs in the public library, the only memento of an undertaking which it would seem well to revive. The land must always have made a strong appeal to Dr. Hawkes, for from his first purchase of the home lot almost up to the end of his life he was engaged in real estate transactions. In 1863 he sold his property at the corner of Main and Church Streets, where the public library now stands, to Mr. Sanford Blackinton, and removed to Troy, where he purchased a home in Seventh street. He remained in this city for only a year or two. On his return to North Adams he tried to buy back the old homestead; but Mr. Blackinton being unwilling to sell, he purchased the opposite corner, next to the Congregational church, on Main Street. After extensive alterations and the building of an addition to the house, he moved into his new office in 1866. Throughout his life Dr. Hawkes was a strong advocate of temperance. That his abhorrence of liquor began early is indicated by the title of his thesis on graduating from the medical school—"A dissertation on intemperance and the general duties of physicians as they relate to the good order of society." He was a charter member of Lafayette lodge, F. and A. M. and always a loyal Mason.

But with his varied interests, Dr. Hawkes was above all consecrated to his profession. In the early days, with his practice extending over a large territory, through valleys and over mountains, he rode horseback. At least three horses were kept in his stable, and there is a record of one day when he travelled eighty miles, visiting patients and using his

mounts in turn. During the years of the construction of the Tunnel there were many calls to the West shaft and the lonely Central shaft on Florida mountain. He had a large clientele among the poor and won their esteem and affection. To such an extent was this true that early one morning when he was returning from a case and was accosted by three men, he was immediately released when they discovered his identity. The Rev. Ezekiel Russell, fourth pastor of the Congregational church, has said of him:

"In estimating the professional services and character of Dr. Hawkes I would say that a great and distinguishing feature of these services was fidelity. He never neglected a patient. What was possible for him to do, was done. When the call of distress was heard, it was observed. We were once, during the winter of 1837, a boarder in his family for six months. No night was he left undisturbed. Sometimes two and even three calls were made upon his professional services during the hours in which others were at rest. His fidelity to the duties of his profession cost him care; it cost him often the sacrifice of needed rest; it cost him labor often that yielded no return, except gratitude. His fidelity to himself, as well as to the afflicted, led him to read with care the current medical literature. Such, Dr. Hawkes ever felt, was the indispensable work of every physician and to it he devoted a life of toil."

I cannot close this necessarily incomplete sketch of the life of Dr. Hawkes without giving two instances that reveal the man in his relation to the community in which he lived and without bearing my testimony to the debt I owe him. Throughout his life he must have held the esteem of his fellow townsmen. In early manhood, while vigorously fighting intemperance, his barn was fired and completely destroyed, with everything in it. On a winter evening not long after he was summoned to the door of his home, and there, before it, stood a horse and sleigh, which, with harness and robes, were presented to him by his neighbors. And again, almost at the end of his life, at a fair held in the Methodist church, he was voted the most popular physician in the city, and presented with a dressing-gown of rich wine-colored

velvet. What tokens there were between, I do not know, but these acts of friendship, coming at the beginning and end of life, are evidence of the love and respect in which he was held by those among whom he lived and worked.

Through the formative years of my life, from the time I entered the primary grade of Drury Academy to my first year in the high school, when he drilled me in the rudiments of Latin grammar, my grandfather was my friend and my guide. I do not remember an unkind word. There was never coercion. His example taught me to remember the Sabbath day, to be diligent in my work, to respect my elders and to be considerate of all. A Christian gentleman, distinguished in carriage and personal appearance, he commanded my love and respect. There was never any doubt about my grandfather then and there never has been since. As I look back now I see woven in and through him the strength of these Franklin county hills, in the midst of which he was born and passed his early manhood. In his keen intelligence I see the product of Deerfield and Sanderson Academies. In his deep religious convictions there lived again the spirit of that long line of Puritan ancestry that formed the character of this Connecticut Valley. He taught me to venerate the church, to love the home, to value the school—the three fundamentals of society today as they were in the days when Dr. Hawkes, and many like him who were born and lived in Old Deerfield, exemplified them in the lives they lived.

THE FREEDOM SUIT.

BY MARGARET C. WHITING.

There are many ways of celebrating the attainment of freedom and each one who finds himself in possession of that happy state has his own fashion of advertising the fact among his fellows, but the custom among girls of wearing a special dress that was called a Freedom Suit seems to have been confined to the eastern part of Massachusetts in the

early days of the Republic. So far as I have knowledge this quaint custom was observed in two townships, in 1781 and 1800 respectively, though very likely it was followed in other places in New England. For long, I had only one instance of it, as a part of my family traditions, and could never match it, however I diligently inquired, until last summer, when in a chance talk with an old friend she casually referred to her great-grandmother's Freedom Suit! This renewed my interest in the subject and I now offer all I have discovered about it to the P. V. M. A., in the confident hope that many other instances of the custom will be recalled by my fellow members, which will show how it originated, and where.

We all know that at the age of 18 a boy reached economic independence, for then his father, in the phrase of the period, "gave him his time," which meant that he no longer claimed a right to the youth's wages, though still maintaining legal authority over his conduct till he should become 21 years old. Parental government, in those days, was not only legal but very actual in its enforcement, and, at a time when many a well-ordered family of children never sat at table with their father and mother, but stood about the board, eating what was set before them in decorous silence, out of respect for their elders, the 18th birthday must have been a real milestone for a lad. Even partial escape from domination was so sweet that boys needed no special attire for the moment of financial emancipation; it was left for the girls to don the Freedom Suit.

A woman's wages were so negligible, in spite of her industrous spinning and weaving and endless housework, that we do not hear of her being given "her time" at any age, but the two girls I want to tell you about, and doubtless many more, did obtain a definite recognition of their semi-majority, for when they had reached their 18th birthday their fathers presented them with a new outfit, completely new in every detail, which they wore for the first time when they went to meeting on the Sabbath morning that occurred nearest to the natal day.

Imagine the emotional opportunity inherent in the occa-

sion! It advertised the girl's whole status in the community. It displayed her father's generosity and her mother's pride, and it attested the family prosperity. It dated her emergence from childhood, and her assumption of a degree of personal independence, and her right to enter the society of her elders. It also showed off her beauty, should she have any, and was likely to rouse the envy of the 17-year-old girls, and the criticism of the 19-year-old ones. More than all else, the occasion proclaimed the fact that the wearer of the Freedom Suit had reached the marriageable age!

Thus, many and varied were the agitations in the young mind of Mary Richards, on the Sunday morning in mid-July of the year 1781, when she left her father's door and took her way to the Sharon meeting-house, clad in the new clothing that announced her 18th birthday. Her father, a substantial citizen of the town, now known as Canton, who was Benjamin Richards, fourth in line from Edward Richards of Plymouth in old England, and her mother, who was a Belcher, with the nine other children that made the family, had gone on before, for nothing must mar the effect of Mary's entrance of the church. The ordeal of thus facing the waiting congregation, alone for the first time, and of gaining her place in a foremost pew under the appraising eyes of all the town, must have been awe-inspiring enough to rob the maid of any undue sense of vanity!

Blushing (for girls in those days followed the fashion of blushes, as showing proper feminine sensibility!) and conscious of the little stir her entrance was causing, Mary must have been a pleasing sight, dressed in a gown of imported linen, printed with a pattern of a wandering vine in black and deep rose, upon a lighter rose-colored background. Dreadful as was the ordeal, was there not a secret thrill of an excitement all her own in her heart, for above the sense of her neighbors' scrutiny, was there not the charming certainty that one pair of eyes held a special message of admiration for herself, as well as for her Freedom Suit? Behind the pews of his elders, as befitted the position of a young student under the town's doctor, Elijah Hawkes, yet not too much removed, because he was fitting to enter Harvard

in the fall and so was held in honor, sat Jerre Lyons of Roxbury. He could share Mary's new-found dignity, being only six months her senior and very recently allowed to leave his own home, and that he had early made her acquaintance is recorded in his journal. Under date of June 15th, he wrote he was "invited to Mr. Benjamin Richards and saw many fine ladies and spent several hours with Miss Polly Richards." Doubtless on this interesting occasion there was talk of "Polly's" coming birthday, now only a month away, and by the time it had arrived, the journal's frequent mention of his visits shows there could have been little question of her effect on the young man's fancy.

It was a long courtship, however, for it was not until 1790 that Dr. Jerre Lyons was established in practice. The wedding took place on October 21st of that year, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Philip Curtis, the pastor of the Sharon church, and the bridal gown far exceeded the Freedom Suit in splendor, for it was of beautiful golden damask silk, imported from London for the special purpose, a thick fabric, richly patterned after an Italian design and so fine in color it has retained its full perfection of hue for one hundred and thirty-seven years, till now, when the great-granddaughter of the bride gives a piece of it to Memorial Hall.

Dr. Jerre Lyons brought Mary to our own Franklin county, for he practiced medicine in Colrain, where their nine children were born, and where Mary died in 1808. It was a happy union, for both were strong characters, and more cultured in their tastes than ordinary folk. Mary is described as "a woman of devoted piety, who strongly impressed upon her numerous children her own personality, ruling her household with conscientious rigor of discipline," a testimony that assures us she was not turned from the strict lessons of the Puritan code, if she did like pretty clothes. We are sorry she did not live to witness the results of her training, when her youngest born, Lorenzo, entered the missionary field. He was graduated from Union College, and immediately after ordination to the ministry, joined the earliest group of missionaries to the Sandwich Islands (as they were called) in 1831, where he remained for 54 years of

arduous service which earned for him the fond title of "Father Lyons" among the native peoples.

One of Mary's daughters, Nancy, wore the golden bridal dress on her own wedding-day, this time in the form of a petticoat, when she married Captain John Avery Tenney of Gill in 1820, and her two elder daughters wore it, in turn, as a gown. The second daughter, Eugenia, when the dress came to her, revolted against wearing it to church, where its gleaming beauty must have seemed far too secular, though the reason she gave for refusing was "because its brightness made her eyes ache!" So the lovely fabric was laid away, its unfaded breadths hidden in tissue paper, until now, when Eugenia's daughter, Florence Eugenia Tenney Towne of Holyoke, gives a part of it back to Franklin county, along with a piece of Mary Richards's Freedom Suit.

The other Freedom Suit of which I have spoken belongs in my family annals. It was worn by Catherine Smith, who was born in Dover but spent her youth in the next town of Dedham, to which her father had removed. Unfortunately, her birthday fell on December 17th, a season when the church-goers were too intent on aching fingers and chilblains, as they shivered through the three-hours-long morning service, to care about a girl's début; so it was not till the following summer of 1800 that the fitting moment arrived for wearing the Freedom Suit. Catherine never forgot the experience, and, in her old age, would describe the way her knees shook when she faced the gazing congregation. It required all the fighting blood of her family, for there were seven Smith brothers in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and her father was one of them, but the courage that successfully carried her to the family pew in the Amen Corner of the Dedham meeting-house was probably much sustained by the Freedom Suit itself, and the way it became her slender figure and sapphire blue eyes.

The dress must have proved to be becoming, for she remembered it in detail when she was old, and, from her description written down by her granddaughter, I am able to tell you that the gown was lilac-colored silk, striped with red and yellow, and was made with the very short waist and

sleeves of the so-called Empire style. Over her bare neck a lace kerchief was decorously crossed and fastened with a new brooch. Upon her feet she wore sandal slippers that showed her clocked silk stockings, and on her head she had a straw bonnet trimmed with lilac ribbons that matched her dress. All her underwear was of the finest linen her mother could spin, and so was the handkerchief that was folded lengthwise and hung over her hands clasped demurely under its protection. I have a notion one hand was not quite covered, for how otherwise could she have displayed the new ring her father had given her, or show the posy of June pinks and sprig of dill she carried!

Though she told so much about the clothes she wore, my grandmother never told whether or not she took note of the young tenor who looked down from the singers' gallery at the farther end of the church, to observe her entrance. Perhaps she saw him without looking! The story goes that he, then and there, resolved he would marry Catherine Smith, if he could! Though she was so reticent about the result of her Freedom Sunday, her old husband, if questioned by inquisitive grandchildren, would obligingly confess that the other young men of Dedham averred they "couldn't see what made pretty Katey Smith marry black Enoch Whiting," for my brunette grandfather was as plain of feature as my grandmother was beautiful.

Nothing but the little story remains of pretty Katey's Freedom Suit, though a bit of her wedding dress is still treasured to show it was made of cream-colored silk, delicately patterned with floral stripes in pink and green. She wore it in the summer of 1802, and came away with "black Enoch" to make her new home in Amherst, bringing from her mother's garden a root of fraxinella, which she carried to her second home, thirty years later, in St. Albans, Vermont, and whose descendant every June blooms fragrantly in Deerfield.

Now who can tell me why the Freedom Suit ceased to be worn? And, if it was always so romantically successful as these two true stories would suggest, is it not remarkable that it became a bygone custom!

DR. JAMES KENDALL HOSMER.

January 29, 1834—May 11, 1927.

BY RALPH SHELDON HOSMER OF ITHACA, N. Y.

It is a fitting and appropriate custom that the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association yearly observes, that of paying tribute at its annual meeting to those of its members who have passed from this life during the preceding year. The record for 1927 includes the name of Dr. James Kendall Hosmer, whose long and active life terminated on May 11, 1927, at the ripe age of ninety-three years.

Dr. Hosmer was closely identified with Deerfield in a number of ways. As minister of the First Congregational Society in the stirring days of the Civil War, he bore his part in the community life. As a citizen soldier in that struggle, he was one of the company of young men who went out from this old town to the battlefields of the South. On his return it was in Deerfield that he found his bride. In 1871 he became a life member of this Association. To the end of his life he continued to manifest a keen interest in all that concerned the welfare of the Street and its people.

Although not a native of Deerfield, Dr. Hosmer was born near by, in the Connecticut River town of Northfield. Here his father, the Rev. G. Washington Hosmer, D. D., was minister of the First Church. James was born January 29, 1834. Not long thereafter, in 1836, the elder Dr. Hosmer was called to Buffalo, New York, to become minister of the First Unitarian Church there, a pastorate that ran until 1867. In those days Buffalo was looked upon as being in the West. The journey was a long one, accomplished by stagecoach and canal boat, over the then recently opened Erie Canal. In Buffalo James passed his boyhood years. But not altogether. Part of his schooling was at Plymouth, Massachusetts, the home of his mother, who was the daughter of the Rev. James Kendall, minister of the First Church for a 57-year pastorate that began January 1, 1800.

Concord also is a Massachusetts town to which all Hosmers are loyal. Here settled the progenitor of the Massachusetts stock, James, soon after his arrival in 1635. Farmers for the most part, the Hosmers of Concord have been useful and sturdy citizens of that town through the succeeding generations. Perhaps the most eminent of the name is Major Joseph Hosmer, adjutant at Concord Bridge in 1775, the great-grandfather of James Kendall Hosmer.

Entering Harvard College at seventeen, Mr. Hosmer was graduated as a member of the Class of 1855. Among his classmates were Alexander Agassiz and Phillips Brooks, and among his friends, Charles William Eliot. With his antecedents, it is not strange that Mr. Hosmer turned to the ministry as a profession. For the next four years he continued his studies at Harvard as a theological student, completing the regular course in 1859, which, after 1870, carried the degree Bachelor of Theology. In 1860 Mr. Hosmer was ordained and installed as minister of the Unitarian Church of Deerfield.

In those days Deerfield was a thriving and prosperous farming community. It had many substantial citizens whose deeds are recalled with satisfaction and pride by their descendants. From the Deerfield of that time went out many who made places for themselves in the affairs of the nation. It was the young minister's duty to inspire this group of men and women. From the grateful regard in which he was held by those who knew him, it is evident that he measured up to that task in the affairs both of church and town.

Dr. Hosmer had a good voice and always enjoyed singing. One story of him that is current in the family has to do with this trait. In the early days of his ministry a persistent rumor obtained in the Street that a wild man had taken up his abode on Pocumtuck. No little apprehension was aroused over strange shouts and cries that were heard at intervals near the Rock. Some of the more timid even fancied a resemblance to the Indian war-whoops of 1704. Finally a search party was organized to scour the mountain. They traced the sounds and found—the young minister,

engaged in elocutionary exercises, forgetful of the fact that the mountainside might act as a sounding board.

So passed several happy years. Then came the War. As the trains bearing the soldiers from Vermont passed through Deerfield the townsfolk gathered at the station to bid them Godspeed. The women were busy helping to provide materials for the relief work that preceded the Red Cross. Soon the call was sounded for more and more men. A local regiment was organized and many of the sons of Deerfield enrolled in Company D of the 52d Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. Among them was Mr. Hosmer. Refusing a staff appointment as Chaplain, he joined the ranks, was made Corporal and soon went South. The regiment became a part of the Nineteenth Army Corps in the expedition under General N. P. Banks against Port Hudson, the Confederate stronghold below Vicksburg that controlled the Mississippi.

After a time at Baton Rouge, the men of the 52d Massachusetts took part in the investment of Port Hudson and in the hard fighting that led to its fall on July 9, 1863. This victory opened the Mississippi. Writing of it in later years, Dr. Hosmer said, "The capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson was a success such as had not been achieved before during our Civil War and was not paralleled afterwards until Appomattox. In military history there are few achievements which equal it."

Being a nine months' regiment the 52d returned North soon thereafter. The names on the monument on the village green tell the story of those who did not come back. Among them is that of Mr. Hosmer's younger and dearly loved brother, Edward Jarvis Hosmer, the first sergeant of Company D.

In his first book, *The Color Guard*, 1864, Mr. Hosmer told the story of that campaign in a way that drew favorable comment from competent critics both in America and in England. John Bright called it "the best account he had ever read of the risks and hardships of the men in the ranks." In 1865, Mr. Hosmer published a novel based on war time experiences, *The Thinking Bayonet*, which also was well received.

Strenuous as was his service in the Civil War, Dr. Hosmer attributed to the seasoning which he then obtained at least a part of the vitality that was so outstanding a characteristic of his till the very day of his death. He held that if a man were constitutionally sound the rough life of camp but added to his vigor.

After the War Mr. Hosmer again took up his work as a minister. It was at this time that he wrote the story of Old Deerfield that subsequently appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1870 as "Father Meriel's Bell," and in expanded form in 1894 as a book entitled *How Thankful Was Bewitched.* The original manuscript was read by him before a Literary Society in Deerfield.

Ever popular among the young people, Mr. Hosmer found his bride in Deerfield in Miss Eliza Adelaide Cutler, a sister of the late Mrs. Edward Stebbins. They were married October 15, 1863. One who as a boy remembers Miss Cutler speaks of her as "tall, graceful and splendidly proportioned, with dark, copious hair." They had four children: Edward Stebbins, Josephine, Ernest Cutler, all of whom survive, and Eliot Norton, who died in infancy. After Mrs. Hosmer's death in 1877, Dr. Hosmer in 1878 married Miss Jenny Persis Garland of St. Louis, Missouri. They had three children: Ruth, Milicent and Herbert. The little boy died young. Mrs. Hosmer passed away March 11, 1920. For more than forty years in his literary work Dr. Hosmer had in her a wise and constant helper.

In 1866 Mr. Hosmer resigned his pastorate at Deerfield to become Professor of Rhetoric and English at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, to the Presidency of which institution his father, Dr. G. W. Hosmer, had been called from Buffalo. It may incidentally be noted that his successor in the pulpit at Deerfield was his brother, the Rev. Geo. Herbert Hosmer. He also chose as his bride a Deerfield girl, Miss Julia West Sheldon; another link between the Hosmer family and Deerfield.

Dr. Hosmer remained at Antioch six years, when he went to the University of Missouri as Professor of English and History. In 1874 he moved to St. Louis to Washington Uni-

versity, where he filled the chair of English and German Literature. Dr. Hosmer used jokingly to say that in the early years at St. Louis he often had, because of the variety of his duties, to occupy a sofa rather than a chair. Here he worked until 1892, when he became Librarian of the Public Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota, a post that he held till 1904. For the next decade Dr. Hosmer devoted himself to literary work, making his residence for a time in Washington, and later in Boston. But he regarded Minneapolis as home and returned there permanently about ten years ago. In 1925 he was appointed Librarian Emeritus of the Minneapolis Public Library and in 1926 one of its branches was renamed in his honor.

Dr. Hosmer's reputation rests on his contributions as a historian. In 1878 he published his *Short History of German Literature,* a book that still maintains its place in collateral reading for students of German. In 1885 came *The Story of the Jews* and in the same year *The Life of Samuel Adams,* the second volume in the American Statesmen Series. This was followed in 1888 by *The Life of Young Sir Henry Vane* and in 1896 by the *Life of Thomas Hutchinson,* the last Royal Governor of Massachusetts. It is significant that the author of *Samuel Adams* should also contribute this sympathetic account of an American statesman, who while opposing the harsh measures of the Government of George III, yet believed that the political solidarity of the English-speaking race ought not to be broken, and so remained loyal to his King. In November, 1917, Dr. Hosmer gave the address at the dedication of the Memorial Arch in honor of Gov. Hutchinson erected in the First Church in Boston. This indeed was Dr. Hosmer's last formal contribution to historical literature.

In 1890 Dr. Hosmer published his *Short History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom,* a succinct account of a development of two thousand years, with a presentation of the outgrowth of the American constitution from its English stem. The creation and maintenance of better understanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples was ever a matter that lay nearest to Dr. Hosmer's heart. Of him in

this connection Prof. Goldwin Smith once said: "Of all American historians, Professor Hosmer had done most to render justice to Great Britain and to remove the historic causes of ill feeling between her and her offspring, the United States."

These do not complete the list of Dr. Hosmer's books. In 1901 appeared his *Mississippi Valley* and in 1902 *The History of the Louisiana Purchase.* In 1907 he contributed two volumes to the "American Nation" on the Civil War, *The Appeal to Arms*, and *Outcome of the Civil War.* These volumes give the reader one of the clearest pictures ever presented of the purposes and actual accomplishments of the various campaigns of the Civil War. Dr. Hosmer acted as Editor of the Journal of Lewis and Clarke, 1902, and in 1908, turning again to New England, did the same service for the Journal of John Winthrop. His final book was *The Last Leaf*, 1912, a series of delightfully intimate sketches of many notable men whom he had known during his long life as a teacher and scholar.

Dr. Hosmer's writings did not cease with his books. The papers that he prepared in recent years for special occasions in Deerfield are fresh in the minds of the members of this Association, labors of love for the people of the old town that he always looked back to with affection.

Upon the completion of his work at Missouri and at Washington Universities Dr. Hosmer was honored by these institutions respectively with the degrees of Ph. D. (1877) and LL. D. (1897). In 1925 he made his last visit East, to attend the 70th Reunion of the Class of '55 at the Harvard Commencement. Two other of his classmates were also present: Mr. Edwin Hale Abbot of Cambridge and Mr. Louis Arnold of West Roxbury. The three proudly marched at the head of the line on that day, all men well over ninety. It was on this occasion that Harvard conferred upon Dr. Hosmer the honorary degree of LL. D., a tribute coming from his Alma Mater that he held to be the crowning honor of his life.

Dr. Hosmer's long life was active, happy and productive. Except for failing sight he retained to the end his bodily and mental vigor. He ever followed with the keenest interest

the events of the hour. When a few years ago Maughan made his historic flight across the continent in one day, Dr. Hosmer applauded the exploit with an apt quotation from *Paradise Lost.* He permitted nothing to interfere with his keeping in touch with world happenings.

Gifted with an almost photographic memory, Dr. Hosmer's anecdotes of men and events and his broad and sympathetic outlook on life made him welcome in every circle. Only a fortnight before his death, in response to an unexpected call made upon him at a dinner in Minneapolis, he repeated a poem that he had composed more than fifty years before, perhaps even in his days at Deerfield.

Dr. Hosmer had a personality that attracted and retained friends. Coupled to this his deserved reputation as a scholar opened many doors to him. He numbered among his friends men eminent in England and in America. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historical and Genealogical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. In 1902–03 he was President of the American Library Association. At the dedication of Memorial Hall at Harvard Dr. Hosmer was the one chosen to respond for the common soldier. The books which he wrote that deal with a formative and vital period in our history constitute a permanent memorial.

In the passing of Dr. James Kendall Hosmer a notable man has gone from our midst. Nowhere should his memory be more honored than in Old Deerfield.

CANADIAN BRANCH OF THE STEBBINS FAMILY.

BY J. HENRY FRENIER OF RUTLAND, VT.

All the Stebbinses of Canada and all the Stebbinses that emigrated from Canada and their descendants, descend from Joseph, youngest son of John Stebbins and Dorothe Alexander of Deerfield, Mass.

At the massacre of Deerfield, Feb. 29th, 1704, John Stebbins, his wife and his six children were taken prisoners, with many others, most of whom were conducted to Chambly, Canada, the home of Commander Hertel De Rouville.

The Stebbins family consisted of six children, all born at Deerfield, Mass. John, the eldest, was 19 years old, Abigail 17 years, Samuel 15 years, Thankful 12 years, Ebenezer 9 years and Joseph 4 years, the latter having been born April 12th, 1699.

Abigail, the oldest sister, had been married at Deerfield Feb. 3, 1704, to a Frenchman, Jaques Denoyon (the ancestor of all the Denios of this country) who had been a sergeant in the Company of Tonti, and whose home was Boucherville, P. Q. He was also taken prisoner with his young wife, and when most of the prisoners got to Chambly Denoyon must have received permission to move on to Boucherville, his old home, where he raised a family, spent his life and died. Abigail, his wife, was buried there, Nov. 15th, 1740.

The father, John, his son John and his mother returned to Deerfield not long after, and Samuel and Ebenezer may have returned, as no trace of them is found in Canada.

Thankful Stebbins and her young brother, Joseph, seem to have been adopted by the De Rouvilles of Chambly, a wealthy family, and always lived and worked for them. They had her baptised in the Catholic faith April 23d, 1707, under the name of Louise-Therese; she was married at Chambly Feb. 4th, 1711, to Adrien Legrain-Lavalle of Boucherville, and she died and was buried at Chambly the 11th of July, 1729. They had a large family and some of the descendants are yet in neighborhood parishes.

1. I. Joseph Stebbins was married at Chambly Nov. 18th, 1734, to Marguerite Sanssouci, daughter of the deceased Jacques Sanssouci and Catherine Toinette of Chambly (marriage contract No. 429 of the practice of notary Loiseau, now in the archives at Montreal). Joseph died at Chambly April 23d, 1753, aged 54 years; his wife married, 2d, Jean Baptiste Menard at Chambly Jan. 25th, 1761.

Stebenne is the French name for all the Stebbinses in Canada. Joseph was married under that spelling and all

his descendants until today. All his sons seem to have been farmers, the oldest and most honorable vocation.

Children.

2. I. Joseph Stebenne, born at Chambly Nov. 20th, 1735, and married to Marie Barbe Valliere November 17th, 1760, at Chambly.

3. II. Marguerite, born Sept. 20th, 1737. Died in 1756, at Chambly.

4. III. Jean-Baptiste, born March 22d, 1739, married Feb. 5, 1762, to Marie-Joseph Mace.

5. IV. François Stebenne, born March 15, 1741; died same year.

6. V. Louis Stebenne, born 1742, was at the marriage of his brother Pierre in 1772, married Desange Mailhot Sept-20th, 1773, at Chambly.

7. VI. Marie-Suzanne, born May 31st, 1744, married Claude Benoit in 1761 and she died in 1776, also at Chambly.

8. VII. Pierre (Peter) Stebenne, born July 26th, 1746, at Chambly. Godfather, Pierre Mace and godmother, Ursule Mailhot. Married Oct. 26th, 1772, to Suzanne Beauregard, daúghter of deceased André Beauregard and Marie Valliere. Pierre is said to be of the pointe Olivier de Chambly, today St. Mathias.

9. VIII. François Stebenne, born July 11th, 1751.

10. IX. Marie-Anne, born May 25th, 1753. Died same year.

8. Pierre (Peter) Stebenne, son of late Joseph Stebenne and Marguerite Sanssouci of the parish of St. Olivier of Chambly, to Suzanne Beauregard, daughter of late André Beauregard and Marie Valliere of the same parish.

Children.

11. I. Marie Suzanne Stebenne, born Oct. 11th, 1773.

12. II. Pierre Stebenne, born Oct. 20th, bap. Oct. 22d, 1774, son of Pierre Stebenne and Suzanne Beauregard of St. Olivier. G. F., Joseph Stebenne, G. M., Veronique Vient. Died at Glens Falls, N. Y., about 1870.

13. III. Marie-Josette, born Oct. 8th, 1775, bap. at Chambly.

14. IV. Charles Stebenne, born March 23d, 1786, at St. Mathias, son of Pierre Stebenne and Suzanne Davignon, said Beauregard, of St. Olivier (St. Mathias), sponsors: Claude Benoit and Marie Legrain.

15. V. Louis Stebenne, born Nov. 12th, 1788, at St. Mathias, sponsors: Louis Stebenne and Josepte Benoit.

16. VI. François Stebenne, born Feb. 13th, 1791, at St. Mathias, married, 31st July, to M.-Genevievre Bouvier, at Ste. Marie de Monnoir.

17. VII. Desanges Stebenne, born ....., married to François Dufaut, assisted at the marriage of her brother Charles Feb. 19th, 1810.

18. VIII. Toussaint Stebenne, born Oct. 15, 1797, at St. Mathias, son of Pierre Stebenne and Suzanne Davignon, said Beauregard, married.

14. Charles Stebenne, son of Pierre Stebenne and Suzanne Davignon, said Beauregard, married, Feb. 19th, 1810, at St. Mathias, to Isabelle Hostie, daughter of Gabriel Hostie and Isabelle Viens, of this parish (St. Mathias). He died at Glens Falls, N. Y., about 1872, where he had been living with his son Peter, who was sexton there.

Children.

19. I. Elizabeth Stebenne, born May 3d, 1811, at St. Mathias, sponsors: Pierre Stebenne and E. Vient, grandparents.

20. II. Charles Stebenne, born April 30, 1812, at Ste. Marie de Monnoir, son of Charles Stebenne and Isabelle Ostilly of this parish.

21. III. Pierre Stebenne, born March 3, 1814, at Ste. Marie.

22. IV. Luce Stebenne, born Sept. 9th, 1815, at Ste. Marie. Died Aug. 28th, 1832, aged 17 years, at Ste. Marie.

23. V. Marguerite Stebenne, born May 1st, 1818, at Ste. Marie.

24. VI. Zoe Stebenne, born Sept. 13, 1819, at Ste. Marie.

25. VII. François X. Stebenne, born Dec. 8th, 1820. He

never married; was cook on the Lake Champlain steam boat, and was drowned at Whitehall, N. Y., in getting off.

26. VIII. Emelie, born....., 1823.

27. IX. Flavie Stebenne, born May 7, 1828, daughter of Charles Stebenne, hotel keeper, at Ste. Marie.

Second marriage March 5, 1832.

14. Charles Stebenne, widower of Elizabeth Ostiguy, to Marie Viens, daughter of Pierre Viens and deceased M.-Angelique Larocque, of this Parish (Ste. Marie).

Third marriage, Jan. 7, 1834, Ste. Marie.

14. Charles Stebenne, widower of Marie Viens, to Louise Menard, widow of Claude Donais, all of this parish. Ste. Marie.

Children.

28. X. Thimothe Stebenne, born Nov. 4, 1834, at Ste. Marie.

29. XI. Charles.

30. XII. Isabelle, ..., married to a Boulais.

31. XIII. Joseph.

20. Charles Stebenne, son of Charles Stebenne and Elizabeth Ostiguy, to Emelie Viens in "1834." She died July 16, 1835, aged 22 years, at Ste. Marie. Second marriage, April 18, 1837, Ste. Marie.

30. Charles Stebenne, widower of Emelie Viens, to Felecité Meunier, said Lapierre, daughter of Ignace Lapierre and Desanges Carriere, at Ste. Marie.

Children.

32. I. Mary Stebins, born Vergennes, Vt.

33. II. Charles Stebenne, born in Vermont, baptised at Ste. Marie May 27, 1840. Died at Webster, Mass., his children there.

34. III. Rosa Stebins, born in Vermont in 1842.

35. IV. Philomene Stebenne, born Aug. 19, 1844, at "Virgin," Vt., baptized Oct. 27, 1844, at Ste. Marie. Died at Keene, N. H., in 1926; her children there; she was married three times, first to Frank Provost, in Rutland, Vt., 2d to.....

36. V. Pierre Stebenne (Peter), born Aug. 29th, 1846, at Ste. Marie, baptized Aug. 30th, son of Charles Stebenne, farmer and of Felicité Meunier, said Lapierre of this parish, sponsors: Jean A. Ostilly and Genevrievre Bouvier.

37. VI. Antoine Stebenne, born July 1st, 1848, at Ste. Marie, married..... Died at Bellows Falls, Vt., 1925; his children live there.

38. VII. Alexis Stebenne, born May 21st, 1850, at Ste. Marie.

39. VIII. Joseph Stebins, born May, 1852, married and lives in Vermont.

40. IX. Louis Stebins, born 1854, in Vermont, married and lives at Northfield, Vt.

41. X. Julia Stebbins, born and died in Vermont, married 3 times.

36. Peter Stebbins, son of Charles and Felecité Meunier, married Dec. 29th, 1870, to Emma Adelaide Lalor, daughter of Edward Lalor and Mary O'Halloran, at Rutland, Vt.

Children.

42. I. Edward Peter Stebbins, born Sept., 1872, at Rutland, Vt. Married and living at Milford, Mass.

43. II. George Louis Stebbins, born Sept., 1873, at Rutland, Vt., married and living at Fitchburg, Mass.

44. III. Martin Henry Stebbins, born ....., 1874, at Rutland, Vt., married and living in Rutland, Vt.

45. IV. Mary Elizabeth Stebbins, born July 2nd, 1878, at Rutland, Vt., married Frank McGaully at Plattsburg, N. Y., and he died Oct. ....., 1926, left one son, Bernard.

46. V. Emma Jane Stebbins, born Mendon, Vt., March 25th, 1882, married Jan. 17th, 1900, to James Hurley, who died July ....., 1917.

47. VI. Stephen Patrick Stebbins, born Aug. 15, 1883, at Mendon, Vt., married and lives at Hackensack, N. J., has one son, Robert.

48. VII. Clarence Arthur Stebbins, born 1884, died in 1893.

49. VIII. Sylvester James Stebbins, born 1886, died in service of the Government in 1918, at Vancouver.

50. IX. Anna Irene Stebbins, born at Mendon, Vt., Oct. 8th, 1888, married to William Rice, have 2 children and lives at West Rutland, Vt.; is a merchant.

51. X. John Joseph Stebbins, born at Rutland, Vt., Aug. 8th, 1892, unmarried and lives at Rutland, Vt.

46. Emma Jane Stebbins daughter of Peter Stebbins and Emma A. Lalor, married Jan. 17th, 1900, at Rutland, Vt. to James Hurley, machinist, who died July, 1917.

Children.

52. I. Mary-Loretta Hurley, born June 19th, 1901, at Rutland, Vt. Received Nun at Rutland, Sept., 1919, at Bennington, Vt.

53. II. Eileen Clotilda Hurley, born at Rutland, Vt., April 15th, 1902, graduated nurse, at Troy, N. Y.

Second Marriage.

46. Emma Jane, widow of James Hurley, married July 26th, 1923, at Rutland, Vt., to J. Henry Frenier, widower of Octavie Menard, who died Jan. 31st, 1922. Mr. Frenier is a manufacturer of sand pumps, at Rutland, Vt.

Notes: All the dates given as birth are mostly the dates of baptism, for those in Canada, except when explained. The parish of Ste. Mary, now has the name of Marieville, which was formerly in the parish of St. Mathias, south of the Richelieu river, opposite Chambly.

ANNUAL MEETING—1929.

REPORT.

Had you been in Deerfield, Tuesday, the 26th, and had you been right-minded and clear-visioned, you would have met many distinguished citizens and visitors in the snowy streets. The snowy streets, indeed, seemed to make traveling easier for these men and women who had come from a long distance—in spite of their being so close a part of the village life! And the hush of the snow made it very possible for those who listened, to hear the sleigh-bells of long ago, the greetings of voices long a part of the silence, even to catch bits of the talk of those once a vital part of the life of the town and county. It was as if the whole scene, the whole atmosphere, had become a vast record to be put upon the most sensitized of gramophones—a record of the Deerfield of long ago.

However, the temptation to poetize about the annual meeting of so significant and so flourishing an organization as the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, must be at once resisted. The space must be given in straight prose, to the actual doings of the body of distinguished Valley folk gathered in the council room of Memorial Hall on Tuesday afternoon. For out of veriest history came, and into history must surely go, reminiscences at first hand of Mary Lyon gathered from the journals of a pupil graduated in the early forties; a vivid bringing back to life of Dr. Samuel Willard by his successor in the pastorate; a spirited rendering of anecdotes and biography of Captain Lester L. Luey, famous in the history of the navigation of the Connecticut River; and a stately return to the bench of the probate court of the judges of Franklin county by a present-day judge. All this thrown against a background of reality in a paper descriptive of "Life in a New Hampshire Town a Century Ago."

Such was the program of the P. V. M. A., interspersed with songs and poems that followed with charming pertinence the various papers. But as interesting as, and even more significant than the program, were the various reports of the year's work of the organization, which showed its ever-growing significance in the educational and social life of, not only the town and county, but even the nation and the wide world beyond. The names of visitors registered from 35 foreign countries spoke clearly and convincingly, not only of the definite success of the P. V. M. A. as museum and class-room of history, but also of the need of just such organizations in all other communities possessed of history worth the preserving.

At the annual meeting there was general regret that President John Sheldon was unable to be present. In his absence Judge Francis Nims Thompson presided. The attendance taxed the capacity of the room, notwithstanding the bad traveling conditions. The report of the secretary, William L. Harris, was read by Miss N. Theresa Mellen and the treasurer's report by George A. Sheldon. Mrs. J. M. A. Sheldon read the curator's report, which gave in detail the activities of the Association for the year. Larger numbers of schools and organizations have visited Memorial Hall the past year than in any previous year, and thousands of visitors from all over the world have viewed the collection of relics, manuscripts, heirlooms, etc. The report of the Publishing Fund was given by Judge Thompson and of the Permanent Fund by Principal F. L. Boyden, and Mrs. Sheldon reported for the Old Indian House Homestead. All of the reports showed that the Association has had a successful year and one of service. Greetings were sent to President John Sheldon, also to John Estabrook, the youngest member of the Association. As there had been no deaths of members during the year, there were no obituary notices.

Interesting papers were read. The first "Personal Recollections of Mary Lyon and Her Seminary," by Mrs. Mary E. Miller, and edited by her daughter, Miss Ellen Miller, was of unusual interest. "An Italian Sonnet to the Old

Deerfield Elm in front of My Home," by Miss Ella B. Wright, was read by Mrs. George H. Wright. A paper on "Dr. Samuel Willard," one of Deerfield's outstanding parsons of early days, was read by Rev. Charles P. Wellman. This paper was also prepared by Rev. Mr. Wellman, and showed the results of much research and unusual personal interest. The closing paper, "Recollections of Early Days in the Connecticut Valley, by Capt. Lester L. Luey," as related by him to Wm. G. Lord of Athol, was read by Hon. Charles W. Hazelton. Mr. Hazelton prefaced his paper with personal anecdotes and explanation of some of the points brought out in the paper, and, incidentally, painted a vivid picture of pioneer days in the hill towns of Northern New Hampshire.

Following the reading of the papers John Carroll Chase, President of the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, gave some personal glimpses on the early life and activities of Mary Lyon, in Derry, N. H. Judge Thompson read an appropriate poem by Abbie Farwell Brown showing how many New England towns have the same names as towns in England. Mrs. Wright read a poem, a play on family names, written many years ago by Squire Blake of Warwick, a family connection of Mrs. Wright.

John Sheldon was re-elected trustee of the Publishing Fund and F. L. Boyden of the Permanent Fund. There were brief remarks by Arthur Tucker of Milton, Judge Thompson, Hal Dadmun, and others. Officers were elected as follows: President, J. M. Arms Sheldon; vice-presidents, George A. Sheldon, Francis N. Thompson; recording secretary, William L. Harris; corresponding secretary, N. Theresa Mellen; treasurer, George A. Sheldon; councillors, Winthrop P. Abbott, Jonathan P. Ashley, Ellen St. C. Birks, Helen C. Boyden, Mary W. Fuller, E. Minnie Hawks, Charles W. Hazelton, Margaret Miller, W. Herbert Nichols, S. Willard Saxton, John Sheldon, Mary P. Wells Smith, Arthur H. Tucker, Margaret C. Whiting, Albert L. Wing.

The meeting was then dissolved and a meeting of the Council was held. Mrs. George Sheldon was re-elected

curator, and a vote was passed to publish Vol. VII of the *Proceedings*. After this at "candle-light" an excellent supper was served in the town hall by the women of Deerfield.

The evening meeting was also largely attended and the papers were unusually interesting. The first was an historical paper, "Life in a New Hampshire Town a Century Ago," by John Carroll Chase. The poem "To the Little Red Shoe," was by Elvira Bush Smith, a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, and a descendant of Sergt. Benjamin Wait of Deerfield fame. Miss Smith's poems have frequently been published and have been enthusiastically received. Another interesting paper was: "The Probate Court and Judges," by Judge Francis Nims Thompson. A pleasing feature was the singing of old-time songs by the Deerfield Academy Glee Club under direction of Ralph H. Oatley.

The initials P. V. M. A. for more than a half century have been well known throughout this region. Last Tuesday afternoon and evening the fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association was held in Deerfield.

This association is one of the leading organizations, perhaps the leading one of its kind in this country. Certain it is it has a wonderful collection of Indian relics, heirlooms, ancient manuscripts and other treasures of olden days, well arranged and safely housed in a fire-proof building.

To the Sheldon family beginning with Hon. George Sheldon, the founder, and continuing with his widow, Jennie M. Arms Sheldon, his son, John Sheldon, and grandson, George A. Sheldon, is due much credit for bringing into existence and successfully continuing and building up this unique association, which has done so much research work and made possible the preservation of historical data of incalculable worth, together with tributes to outstanding men and women of this locality who have passed on.

In the hurry of these strenuous days it is well that there are here and there a few persons who detach themselves from the rush of present day affairs and give some atten-

tion to things of the past and help to preserve for those who shall come after us an enduring record of the strivings and accomplishments of those who lived in the days gone by. All honor to the P. V. M. A. May it live long and prosper.

REPORT OF CURATOR.

This has been a year of details. The larger objects which Mr. Sheldon had in mind at the time of his death have been accomplished, so that this year minor matters have claimed our thought and time.

It is with keen satisfaction I report that a tablet has been placed in the Memorial Room to Daniel Belding by a direct descendant, Lawrence Belding Cummings of New York. The tablet bears the following inscription which is, in brief, the record of the New England pioneer.

Daniel Belding
1648–1731
Settler of Deerfield 1686
Selectman and leader in town affairs
Captured by Mohawks
Driven to Canada and tortured 1696
Sold to the Jesuits 1697
Redeemed 1698
Twice bereft of wife and children
by the attack of 1696
and the massacre of 1704
He resolutely rebuilt his home
Fought off with his fellow townsmen
in 1709 a second attack by
French and Indians under DeRouville
and in 1723 in old age joined
the march against the Abenakis

A new case has been placed in the Indian Room containing most of the Pitted Stones illustrated in the paper on this subject presented to this Association in 1925.

In the Room of Domestic Productions a case has been added with contributions of old-time embroidery from Miss Margaret C. Whiting and the Misses Ellen and Margaret Miller.

A large, new case has been placed in the Library for some of our rare books, and another in the Picture and Manuscript Room for Colonial and Continental currency. Two new stands, harmonizing with the oak bookcases in the Library, have been provided for the card catalogue.

Owing, probably, to our cold May, and rainy June and July, also to the bad condition of the roads in and about Deerfield, there have not been so many visitors to the Hall, as usual, though 7620 have enjoyed the Collection. These have come from 39 States and the following countries: Mexico, Canada, Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, Brazil, Barbadoes, Australia, Philippine Islands, Japan, China, Korea, Siam, India, Turkey, Egypt, Bulgaria, Italy, Germany, France, England and Scotland.

More schools and organizations have visited the Hall this year than ever before.

These are: grammar school, grades VII and VIII, Hinsdale, N. H.; Litchfield school, Litchfield, Ct.; Turners Falls, grade VII, A and B; Conway grammar, grade VIII; Charlemont grammar, grades VI, VII, VIII; Crittenden school, grade VIII, Shelburne Falls; Poland school, Conway; South Ashfield school; Abercrombie school, Main Street school, Davis Street, grade VII, two visits, District school, No. 4, all of Greenfield; Colrain Center school; Four Corners school, Colrain; Loomis Glee Club, Windsor, Ct.; Deerfield Academy Glee Club; Deerfield Grammar, grade VII; East Deerfield, grade V; South Deerfield, grade IV; Westfield High School; Mt. Hermon; Eaglebrook Lodge, two visits; Mrs. Bement's school; Sunderland, grade VIII; Clarke University, Worcester; Clarke University Summer school; Mt. Holyoke College.

Organizations: Boy Scouts, Northampton; Bible Study Class, Chesterfield, N. H.; Sunday School class, Florence; Church Attendance League of First Congregational Church, Amherst; Conservation Department; Orange Woman's

Club; Northfield General Conference; Mohawk Lodges, Huntington; Riverside Motor Tours, New York; Camp Tekoa, Chester; The Blind Players Club; Camp Ashfield, South Ashfield; Boy Scouts, Athol; Tekoa Recreation Club; Tekoa Girls' Club; Sunday School class, Shelburne Falls; Hogel-Spears Tours, Chicago; Camp Half-Moon, Great Barrington; Camp on Rimrock Farm, Petersham; Christmas Needlecraft Club, Pittsfield; Sweet Heart Tea House Waitresses; Sunday School of Baptist Church, Weston; South Deerfield Campfire Girls; Troup 110, Boy Scouts of America, Florence; N. E. Classical Association; Children's group of the Springfield Library Association.

We have had an unusually large number of contributions this year, consisting of 174 books and pamphlets, and 127 miscellaneous articles, totalling 301 gifts.

Among the contributions received is a collection of 60 Pitted Stones from Hinsdale, N. H. These were collected by Harry J. Lasher and bought by the Curator. They were found scattered through Hinsdale, though the majority were near Indian sites overlooking the Connecticut River. They are mostly granite, and in many the three minerals, quartz, feldspar and hornblende or mica are clearly seen. In addition to the two pits, one on each side of the stone, there is in every specimen a smooth spot such as was found in the Pitted Stones of this region, and which led to the conclusion that they were Pitted Polishers used for polishing implements, ornaments, etc. In the Hinsdale specimens as in our own, the smooth spot may be detected by the eye, the "feel," or the difference in color between it and the surrounding surface. Certainly this collection strengthens the view stated in our paper that these stones are not hammers, as usually classified, but are Pitted Polishers.

Miss Ada Patrick of Conway has presented the Association with an oil portrait of her father, Frederick Ensign Patrick, 1807–62, who was "the first Trial Justice appointed by the State for Hampshire and Franklin Counties." This is the work of Edwin Tryon Billings, the son of Ira Billings of South Deerfield. Mr. Billings was one of the famous artists of Franklin county.

Another contribution of note is a rug the foundation of which consists of the red cloak of Dr. William Stoddard Williams of Deerfield. The rug was designed and made by an aunt, "Little Mary Hawks," and given by a great-granddaughter of Dr. Williams, Mrs. Carrie Gale Chapin of Cleveland, Ohio.

The "Thacher Estate" has given us 148 books, pamphlets and maps, a valuable addition to our collection.

The assistant, Miss Mellen, continues the cataloguing of our yearly additions to the Library. Her interest in the work of the Association is keen and constant.

Respectfully submitted,
J. M. Arms Sheldon.

Deerfield, Feb. 26, 1929.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MARY LYON.

BY MARY ESTHER (GRAVES) MILLER, EDITED BY ELLEN MILLER.

Mary Esther Graves was born in Hatfield in 1826. Her mother was early left a widow with a farm to manage and four young children to bring up. She proved a capable manager of the farm, and was able to provide homely comforts for her family, and at the same time lay aside money for the "higher education" of her children. Two daughters were sent to Miss Lyon's just established seminary at South Hadley, the elder, Maria, entering the first class; Edwin, the only son, went to Amherst College, and the youngest daughter, Fanny, to a "Young Ladies' Boarding School" at Pittsfield for a "finishing" year.

Mindful of its cultural effect upon her children's minds, this progressive mother rented the front rooms of her house to the young unmarried minister, who brought his library with him, and as he took an interest in the young folks he gave them free access to his books. When she was twelve years old Mary Esther was discovered in tears over a book from his shelves. The book was Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*.

She said she was weeping because she was too stupid to understand it.

All the children studied Latin with the minister, and the little girls used it as a secret language for their intimate affairs. In her elder days Mary Esther in a moment of stress reverted to the old habit by using a Latin word instead of an English one—once surprising a guest by calling out "Fetch me the—the sedilla," by which she merely indicated an ordinary high footstool. The family waterproof cloak was always known by her small children as "the aquascutum."

At fourteen Mary Esther was reading Virgil in the minister's class of "young gentlemen," preparing for Amherst College examinations and at fifteen she entered Mt. Holyoke Seminary. The following account written forty years after is her own record of three happy years spent under the leadership of the liberal-minded Mary Lyon.

E. M.

In 1841 I was sent to Miss Lyon's Seminary. My small trunk packed and placed in the buggy, my mother by my side, we drove from Hatfield leisurely through the valley, crossing the river at Hockanum ferry. We skirted the foot of Mt. Holyoke and wound along the undulating plain to the small village of South Hadley, the noble Connecticut being in sight most of the way.

When we reached the school Father Hyde, the staid man of all work, carried my trunk to my room, which was in the fourth story of the building, and on the west side, having a fine view to the sunset and northward to the gorge in the mountains. Here I sat on winter evenings with my roommate, before the open fire in the Franklin stove, keeping silent study hour and listening to the winds, like furious armies, pouring through that gorge, while the very walls of the building shook with the conflict. I unpacked my trunk, spread my blanket upon the bed, hung up my white curtains at the window and traveled a long distance for a pail of water. As it was still some time before the supper bell would ring, I roamed about the halls, passing various recitation

rooms, looking out of the south windows on the magnificent prospect, and came to Seminary Hall—this was to be opened for the first time the next day. It was a large room and at the farther end a number of newcomers were gathered, and Miss Lyon herself was on the platform telling an animated story about the new building. She had not known until the last minute whether there would be a carpet for that floor, but a trustee, good old Deacon Avery, of Conway, I think, had decided there should be one. Light shone from her eyes, her face beamed, merry smiles came and went. How could she help conquering all hearts. When she proposed that some of her "daughters" should volunteer to help make the carpet, was there anyone to refuse? I hurried to my room for thimble and scissors and was soon as busy as anybody. The next morning I was assigned my place in the domestic department on the knife and silver circle. The white scoured table appointed to me for this work was quite near the dish-washing circle and I looked on with admiration at the fine, tall girls so gay over their employment. The more responsible positions were in charge of mature, capable beings from New England's self-helping houses. They tossed off easily the excellent apple pies, beat up the plain cake or made bread of two kinds, white and Boston brown, the last perfect in its way. Of this number was Miss Jewel, sister of the Governor of Connecticut, also Miss Spofford, daughter of one of the trustees, and Miss Bonney. The domestic matron to oversee all was there and oh, how patronizing to the young ladies, who bore it with equanimity, for was not labor most honorable?

The Domestic Hall was the most interesting part of the building. Every contrivance for making work orderly, cleanly and refined was planned by Miss Lyon so successfully that one was reminded of her favorite verse, "Holiness to the Lord should be inscribed on the bells of the horses."

For the sixteen tables in the dining room there were in the Domestic Hall eight set tables, unpainted, snow-white from scouring, with cupboard beneath wherein to store working utensils. A half of each table was assigned to one girl whose

duty it was on arising from the meal to gather up her designated articles and carry them to the Domestic Hall.

If "self-control is the test of civilization" then Mt. Holyoke was quite advanced even in those early years. A fire, originating in a flue in the dining room, following the wall, broke out in the reading room above where a class was reciting. Think you there was any flurry of excitement even when the labor of years was at stake? The teacher of that class dismissed her pupils with directions for each to fill her pail with water and bring it either to the reading room or to the hall adjoining. I brought mine and set it with the others. Like directions were given in other class-rooms. Professor Hitchcock of Amherst College, then staying at the seminary to give a course of lectures, was sitting at a desk, alone in the upstairs south division room. The door at the far end of the long room opened and the Associate Principal entered and came with an even, measured walk towards him. When she had quite reached the desk she broke the silence with, "Professor Hitchcock, we think the seminary is on fire." No such self-control held the Professor in. He jumped to his feet and ran to the point of danger. The supply of water brought by the unexcited flock of young ladies proved sufficient and the seminary went on for many years before there was any like alarm.

There were many visitors of note in my day. First came Mrs. Thurston, a missionary from the Sandwich Islands, with her daughter, Persis, both with the true dusky island complexion. Persis, dressed in native costume, ate imaginary "poa" from a calabash for the entertainment of her schoolmates. Afterwards there was the Persian missionary with the Armenian Bishop, Mr. Johannon, dressed in flowing Oriental robes. When they returned to Armenia the good Fidelia Fisk went out to build up anotner seminary like Miss Lyon's. Missionaries were not the only ones that sat at Miss Lyon's board, the cynosure of all eyes. Good, homely, wise Deacon Porter, Miss Lyon's right hand in financial matters, and Deacon Safford of Boston, the generous, genial helper, in every strait, both these trustees were familiar to the pupils. Ministers of note were often

"happening in." Young collegians, coming to see their "sisters," frequently took their supper at Miss Lyon's table.

Miss Lyon taught the higher classes herself. It was told of her that she had learned the Latin grammar in one day, and we all believed it. The curriculum for the senior year included this list of books: *Euclid*, Olmstead's *Natural Philosophy*, Paley's *Natural Theology*, Whately's *Logic and Rhetoric*, *Intellectual Philosophy*, Wayland's *Natural Philosophy and Political Economy*, Butler's *Analogy*, *Paradise Lost*. But our minds were not wholly weighed down with serious thought and the class of '44 turned lightly to thoughts of a class souvenir. We sought for some symbol that would link us in after years and be to us a token of happy hours in this dear retreat. After much discussion we fixed upon a class bracelet, each one to contain a lock of Miss Lyon's waving auburn hair, and even went so far as to consult a jeweller on the price. What a precedent! Should other classes follow it there would soon be none left of the beautiful locks. Miss Lyon did not refuse outright, but gently put aside the subject of the bracelet and suggested that in its stead she should give us our class motto, which was "Freely ye have received, freely give." Indeed, we needed no tangible object to remind us of her warm, living personality. She seemed to know all our difficulties and how to meet them. She was happy, for the class of '44 was the largest yet. Happiness shone from her features. She would come in for afternoon exercises her hands filled with papers, her cap-strings flying, her rosy face wreathed with smiles, her blue eyes shining, full of the things she was to tell her young ladies. At one time, some grave matter of conduct, when justice was always tempered with mercy and the strongest feeling left was that of her sympathy for the culprit. At another time, if the offence was slight, a little harmless ridicule, without naming the offender, was sufficient. Or, it might be she would speak about so small a matter as the lady-like white collar.

Her own dress in those days was an all-wool gown of a cheerful lavender tint, and was worn day after day, perhaps,

with a wise instinct that her pupils might think of her and not of her clothes. In my memory she has lived thus, the happy mother of a numerous family, beaming with love for one and all.

Miss Lyon's personality permeated the whole school. Perhaps you saw her not, but you felt her living, breathing presence, not as severe, not as intellectual, not as religious even, but as a large, loving heart that would never fail you—like the sun itself shining down on every growing plant. "I would like to manage my Seminary by the great laws that govern the universe," she used to say. And did she not do it?

So, minus the bracelet but with noble ideals deeply planted within us, the class of '44 graduated.

ITALIAN SONNET

TO THE OLD ELM TREE IN FRONT OF MY HOME.

BY ELLA B. WRIGHT.

Old sentinel! I promise faithfully
To guard all secrets safe within my heart,
If you will share even a tiny part
Of your close-guarded hidden wealth with me.
You have such store of wisdom to relate,
Of bloody massacre and fearful fight;
Of homes aflame and dear ones lost to sight;
Sad captives of a tragic unknown fate.
I envy so the friendly neighbor-trees.
Close confidantes, who listen all the day
To your soft-whispered gentle reveries.
Ah me! that lofty head hears not my pleas,
But turns in solemn dignity away
Closer to guard its precious memories.

FACTS AND FANCIES CONCERNING DR. WILLARD.

BY REV. CHARLES P. WELLMAN

Jones Very, that rare spirit who now and then slipped out of Salem to visit Emerson in Concord, wrote the line,

"Around us ever lies the enchanted land."

Though he used it in a far different sense from that in which I am thinking of it, still it has recurred to me over and again, as, in imagination, I have been following Dr. Willard about on his errands through this old parish of his, and as I have visited three times of late his birthplace in Petersham, where he first toddled about his father's farm and home, and lived until he was twenty-two, then worked well with his brothers, and then heard the happy announcement, "Sam, how would you like to go to college? I think I'll send you." The reason given for this was that the youth had a "local physical weakness."

Time and greatness, with most of us, create a barrier. It makes the hero and his haunts seem distant. Did he, the eulogized one, belong to us? Did his feet actually press the earth ours do? It is only as we become intimate with him, learn his life-story, absorb his aims and spirit, go around his haunts ourselves, possess in our minds objects that were once dear to him, that we break through and begin to feel the reality of our kinship.

To those who are familiar with the *Life of Samuel Willard* edited by his daughter; with Madam Yale's *Story of the Willard House* where Mr. Willard lived for close to half a century; and Mr. Sheldon's vivid accounts of him in his *History of Deerfield*—to those who know the story of the rise of the Unitarian Church in the Connecticut Valley and still cherish the traditions that cling to the intrepid, yet kindly "fourth minister of the Church of Christ in Deerfield," which he served for twenty-two years, to them time and veneration release their possession and he is found to be warm, human and true. And the enchanted land, which

we pictured as his, turns out to be our very own; round about us here! Our meadows, mountain, street, were his! He belonged to Deerfield,—Old, South, East and West!

"But Deerfield," you say, "was not the only scene of his labors." True, across in Shelburne Falls, up in the hill of Rowe, over in old Warwick, closer by in Bernardston, up in New Salem, down in Hadley and Northampton, long before electric or horse cars made travelling comparatively easy, he found his way. To many, because of his tall, lithe figure, straight and energetic, he was conspicuous; to others, because he was known to have been turned down by his first ecclesiastical council seeking settlement over the Church in Deerfield, as "deficient in doctrine." But none of those towns is foreign to us. And in almost all of them there are still evidences of Dr. Willard's influence.

If you say in awesome breath as though the fact might somehow remove him from us, "O, but Dr. Willard was one of the champions in the cause of abolition of slavery, and of peace, and of temperance," let us remember that it was here where he made most of his addresses and wrote his letters and articles. It was in the Brick Church that he celebrated the freeing of slaves in the British West Indies, antedating our Emancipation Proclamation by twenty-five years, when in opposition to the meeting some one removed the tongue of the bell to prevent it being rung and tin pans were beaten under the windows to disturb the meeting within. It was here in our own Deerfield that he made his collection of 518 hymns, published in 1830 and known as *The Deerfield Collection*. It was here the singing school was held, where, according to an item in his diary, he spent three evenings a week to help improve the art of singing.

In 1825 the Legislature provided that every town should have a school committee, each with authority to select its own books of instruction. It was Dr. Willard who summoned a meeting of such committees in the county, proposed the vote to establish a sub-committee to study books for spelling and reading, and finally prepared and published without one cent remuneration for his labors *The Franklin Reader* and *The Improved Reader* which were largely

used, and later at the instigation of the publishers, *The Popular Reader.* But all this, you see, is on familiar ground: Franklin county.

There is one man still living in Deerfield (Herbert Temple) who remembers Dr. Willard visiting the Wapping School. I asked him, "What did he do?" "He made a prayer before he went out. That was what he was supposed to do." According to the Doctor's records he did more. He examined the teachers for certificates which on his recommendation the Selectmen presented; he questioned the children in their studies, devised ways for discipline and for creating interest and friendliness. "I had almost the whole superintendence of the common schools," he writes.

Dr. Willard was a student all through his life. As a Harvard graduate he came here in 1807, having taught a short time at Bowdoin, studied theology a fortnight with Rev. Jesse Appleton at Hampton, N. H., continued at Harvard, though there was no school of theology there then, and was licensed to preach by the Cambridge Association, Nov., 1805. In 1812, he writes "I have just read the last 132 psalms in Hebrew." When he left college he did not know Hebrew grammar! To make Latin interesting for beginners, he devised a system of forms and translation, so that, as he puts it, "a mature mind should be able to acquire familiarity with the language, able to read any common author" without an instructor, though with a dictionary. He always maintained interest in mathematics, in his 81st year reviewing the first four books of Euclid. He held it a cure for verbosity and muddled thinking, recommending it "to professional men, who in the pulpit, the court of justice, or in deliberative assembly, would learn (from study of mathematics) to keep to their point and say much in a few words."

"There were seasons," he writes, "when I have had abstractions from the common concerns of the world, which with little interruption continued for many successive weeks, when I could muse on subjects of eternal sublimity or beauty, when fires were kindled that required no painful labor to keep them burning; when my thoughts were so fixed on those subjects that I could not withdraw them when I

would for the purpose of needful rest, when, indeed, they seem to have suspended a great law of nature and almost annihilated the want of sleep."

"Your Father was in the third heaven when you went away," once wrote Mrs. Willard to her daughter, who had gone away on a visit, "and now he is in the seventh heaven!" O, no scandal; she only meant to say to Susan that the Doctor was one of those "spiritual abstractions!"

When I look up at the Willard House, as I prefer to call it, as Madame Yale did herself, I think of these things: there is Dr. Willard inside, with his books and papers; perhaps poring over that three-hundred-year-old Latin folio loaned him from Harvard College, as his daughter well remembers, and selecting from it sentences for his beginners' Latin book; perhaps selecting hymns, for his collection or for the evening's singing school; reading over the agitating news from the West Indies. Hush! He may come to the window and we can see him.

Then there was the other side. He admits in his diary, which he kept as long as he could see, that once, because of his distresses, he dreamed of other fields where it would be less exacting and he would have more recourse to companions and books. His parish was hard to visit, whether in friendliness or in need: from four to six miles south or north of his church, "over the mountain" on the east, and "over the River" to Wisdom, on the west, with no bridge in his day. As years sped, his fame went out as a noted liberal minister, and frequent calls came from remote parts, for funeral sermons. Besides, "My Father makes repeated mention of being obliged by the high prices of everything, especially of farm help (in comparison with his salary), to labor himself almost to exhaustion" in the effort to "turn to account" the seven acres belonging to his house. "To supply the deficiencies of my salary," he informs us, "I had generally one, often four pupils, from low grades to college rank," to teach; these besides his own three children.

And then he went blind! Indeed, a great part of his noted work, like his publications, was done after blindness came upon him, by the help of daughters and wife. I wonder if

he knew Milton's lines on his blindness and felt as that mighty Puritan leader felt? Before he had lived half of his pastorate here (in 1818) he was troubled with his eyes. Less and less he could see. Obliged to commit to memory most of the New Testament and parts of the Old for his pulpit readings, memorizing most of his hymns, so that he could sing, as he said, "with intelligence and pleasure"; compelled to go about town, even across the river to Wisdom, guided only by his memory and a cane or a pole, to recognize people by their voices rather than their looks,—all the light that played so softly over the meadows and his home, gone—what a plight! The account of the final operation on one eye, with hopes of restored vision, which was a complete failure, destroying even the faint sense of light which he had had and causing almost a year's suffering, almost brings the tears to one's eyes. He inspired the building of the Brick Church where he continued to preach for five years but never saw it with his physical eyes. He was so eager and interested in all that went on; and was so handicapped!

Cheerful, industrious, a scholar, a public servant, eking out his livelihood by the sweat of his brow, keeping "open house" on a scale we do not practice today—in a manuscript journal written by his daughter Mary, a prized possession of mine now, she writes, "I counted nearly two hundred Unitarian Ministers whom I have seen at our Deerfield house"—and mentions as special guests "any orthodox minister whom my Father heard was in town and would accept of his hospitality," and celebrated persons like Dr. Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson and his aunt, Mary Moody, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Dr. Parkman, Professor Ware,—returning as a layman to render such service as a blind man could, does it not look as though we had entertained unawares a giant, an angel, in our homes, our church, our town, our street? Around us, indeed, lies the land enchanted by his presence! The big maples in front of his house he set out with his own hands, as he did many of the elms along the street now more than a hundred years old. Deacon John Greenough has one distinct memory of watching Dr. Willard coming out of his house, feel his

way across the street with his cane and enter his church. Can we not see him too, this celebrated man of ours, who eighty-three years young, faced death in 1859 (Oct. 8) with the words, "I am not discouraged," to which the attending doctor replied, "With your prospects you have no reason to be discouraged."

Let me tell also, briefly, my explorations in Petersham for better acquaintance with my honored predecessor. The Old Willard farm is still intact, owned now by a Mrs. Dexter, whose husband bought it about 35 years ago for $1200. I visited Mr. John Anderson, in the employ of Mrs. Dexter, whose father was one of two men who then pulled down the old house, strong and solid; though having been unoccupied for about two years, looking shabby. Mr. Anderson told me that about 1915 Mr. Dexter cut close to two million feet of pine from trees, some of which were three feet through. That fact I heard verified by other Petersham citizens. He went on to say that even now, on the sixty-acre lot east of the old and present houses, there are trees standing two feet and more through, and that all through the lot where these trees are, and were, are well built stone walls, piles of stone evidently gathered and thrown into piles; many marks that once those acres were cleared land, for grass and crops.

Those fields and clearings obviously were made generations ago. Deacon William Willard, our Samuel's father, came to Petersham in 1761, immediately buying his farm. When he got it into shape he went to Lancaster for his bride, Katherine Wilder (spelled with K in the *Life*, C on the tombstone), who, a widow, lived many days in our Willard house. Even in Samuel's time, born, you recall, 1776, Petersham was mostly an uncleared forest. He remembers hearing the wolves' unmusical cries in the dead of night; going over near the Barre line with his father to "fold the sheep" and sleeping in a log cabin. There was then, Mr. Brooks pointed out in the 150th celebration of the town, "no Athol, Phillipston, Barre, Dana or New Salem,—no United States of America." Petersham had been incorporated as such but seven years before William arrived and was better known by the Indian name Nichewaug, a grant

made in 1733 to intrepid Indian fighters under Capt. Lovewell. Says Mr. Brooks, "There was no settlement nearer than Rutland, Brookfield, Deerfield and Lancaster. There was no road over our hills and no bridge across our streams."

It was in such days that William Willard arrived and began "clearing."

I wish I had time to tell you what I learned about this stalwart man. It makes his son's characteristics the plainer. He held about every office in the town from that of Deacon to those of "field driver" and "surveyor of boards and shingles." He was "chief man" in the second Town Church that stood on the south end of the Common, on your right just as you pitch down the hill to Barre. In the Town Church graveyard across the road, so close to the sidewalk that you can almost read the inscription on the stones, is his grave and that of his wife. "To the memory of Deacon Wm. Willard," one reads, "Son of Rev. Samuel Willard, 1st Minister of Biddeford, Me. and the 5th. Generation from the first immigrant to this Colony. b. Biddeford 1735, settled in this town 1763 and closed an active, useful, exemplary life Nov. 23, 1810." "In memory of Mrs. Catherine, Relict of Deacon William Willard, who died Nov. 1, 1828, Age 86," reads the other.

For years he was Town Clerk and page after page of town records right through the trying American Revolutionary days are in his neat, legible handwriting. I took over our Samuel Willard's Parish book and placed it open, side by side with his Father's or "Deacon William's." The present Town Clerk's wife was looking at them and I said, "What is striking to you about those books?" and she answered immediately "They look almost as though they were written by the same person." In the Church Book, dated 1734, I read, "Nov. 10, 1764. Wm. Willard admitted to full communion in this Church." That was in Parson Aaron Whitney's time, "the Tory Parson," as he was called, like unto our own Parson Ashley here, and whose grave and horizontal slab heavily inscribed, are not far from the Deacon's. The Church Book and the early Town Records are full of appointments of this Deacon Willard, for Cephas was a

deacon, too. They give ample testimony to the esteem in which he was held.

Deacon William had eleven children, of whom Samuel was the seventh, six being sons. The youngest, Cephas, just mentioned, lived ninety-three years on the home-place, and was more celebrated in the town perhaps than his Father—"a giant in intellect and body," they call him.

How my mind worked as I sat near the old well, which in Samuel's time was covered by the back shed of the house! "Perhaps," I thought, "this spot, where I am eating my lunch, was once covered by the kitchen of the old house where Mother Katherine did her work and all assembled for their meals." The old corner stone against which or on which swung the gate leading from the lanes into the barn-yard is still in its ancient position; the little building now used for the pumping house was built by Cephas for his son as a shoe shop.

A visit to the Petersham Historical Building netted me three interesting items. First, a beautifully preserved "Willard crib," oblong and stationary, with one side open, which was pushed up against the bed to keep any precious inmate from rolling out. Said Mrs. Mabel A. Coolidge, who stood looking at it with me, "All the vigorous kicking of the Willards has not made any impression on this crib." Indeed it had not. Its date is not known but I tried to imagine our scholar and saint kicking therein, in the year of his birth and of our Independence, 1776! Apparently it is as solid and unscathed as the day it was made.

Second, was a small table, slightly oblong, with its four sturdy legs wider apart at the bottom than at the top. Artistically it is not very choice. The one interesting story about it is this: Cephas and his wife, when alone, liked to place it just outside the kitchen door, about where I took my lunch, and have their meal from it in the cool of the day. So seated one time they saw a pig coming their way. Calling to it, the animal looked up, approached them, accelerating his speed as he came, passed between the table legs, in which he got wedged, and scampered off with the table of food on his back!

The other object is the graceful stone placed just outside the door, to commemorate the ending of Shays' Rebellion. This event occurred, not where the stone stands, say those who have investigated, but on the Willard farm. It took place on a Sunday, Feb. 4, 1787. Dr. Willard, who was then 11 years old, was presumably at home. How strange then, although he says in his memoirs, "I well remember the winter of 1786–87, the season of Shays' Insurrection," with such "general distress and alarm that there was no Thanksgiving appointed by the Governor," that he does not mention the quelling of the revolt at his front door! Can it be that on that exciting day, he returned home from church with his father, only to learn of what he had missed? Looking back over his boyhood days, only twice can he remember that Deacon William missed going to church with his family! Yet even so, if "Shays' Insurrection" actually dispersed on the Willard Farm, strange indeed that he forgot it.

"I have an old stand that came from the Willard house," remarked Mr. Osgood, present owner of the store at the center. On invitation I went to see it and found the most graceful little sewing table, as we call it, imaginable. The top, with side leaves down, is about eighteen inches square. Dainty original brass buttons are on the two drawers. The four legs taper and are fluted and wear at the bottom the same fascinating little swivelled castors that the maker attached. The front is veneered with maple, the whole piece having taken on rich color. "Did it come from the old Willard house?" I asked, "And do you suppose Deacon William and our young Samuel saw it?" "It was given me by old Job Lippitt," he replied, "who lived on the next farm to the north, and he said he got it from the home of the Willards." He went on to remark that the flutings of the legs had so many layers and shades of paint, almost filling them solid, that he deemed it must have come down from the good Deacon's day.

"And this clock," putting his hand affectionately on a tall, ticking Grandfather's clock in the hall, "the clock came from the Willard house." Alas, it was not one of the famous

Willard clocks such as can be seen in Dr. Pierce's Greenfield office.

So I have learned some new facts and indulged in some fancies concerning Dr. Willard. He has seen us from his window and come out to talk with us. He has walked up the street, with his cane, and when with his horse he started out of the drive,—was it to see Timothy Rogers at Bernardston, or to turn east for Preserved Smith's place in Warwick? Both were dear friends, and together they formed the Franklin Evangelical Ministers' Association, still existing, since as "suspects" they were denied fellowship in other Associations. Yes, he has guided us about his boyhood home on Petersham's hill, and down by the church and, hush!, over by his father's and mother's graves. Petersham lies less than twenty miles away as the crow flies, a little more around the road.

May we not say now, after our new and freshened acquaintance,

"Around us lies the enchanted land," enchanted with his living presence?

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY DAYS IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY.

BY CAPTAIN LESTER L. LUEY.

PRESENTED BY CHARLES W. HAZELTON.

My father and family went from Cornish, N. H., to Columbia, N. H., forty (40) miles north of the White Mountains, with little or no property, but among his household goods was a cooking stove—a rare and wonderful thing in that country in those days.

Well, he gave that stove for one hundred (100) acres of forest land, two (2) miles back from the main road on the hill (afterwards called Meriden Hill) and went there to make a home. He, or we, my older brother and I helped clear six acres of land and built the house. There were plenty of

spruce trees, straight and tall for the house. We cut those a foot or more in diameter and forty feet long. Father was the architect and boss workman and for tools we had a broad ax, a common ax, a hand saw, an auger, gimlet, and burning iron (perhaps Mother Parish can tell you what a burning iron is or was). We leveled the sills (logs) with a bowl of water at each corner. The logs were notched or fitted so they would lay down one upon another. The sides of the house were eight feet high, then the rafters, spruce poles and the ribs across the rafters, smaller spruce poles, then the roof boards up and down, across the ribs, which were replaced by spruce bark in the summer when the bark would peel, which made a better roof.

When we had the school there were three families in the house, one room each, and there were one or two more houses. I think there were eight or ten scholars. The teacher's name was Abigail Bishop and she had one dollar a week and board. I think we had eight weeks school and I would like to know if that teacher ever got her pay. I don't know how the whole settlement ever got so much money. I worked for her brother six months that time for four dollars a month and perhaps she got her pay then, I don't remember. She did not teach any of the higher branches; she had the A, B, C book, spelling book and Adams' old arithmetic, no grammar or geography, but the house is not finished yet. There was a chamber floor laid and a ladder to go up on. The doors were hung on wooden hinges and a wooden latch and string. For a broom, we got hemlock boughs, twigs, and tied them onto a stick and they had to be renewed pretty often. There was no cellar but a "Potato Hole" outside. There was a cow (but she died soon after). There was no barn so we built a little hovel with spruce poles. Those spruce poles were very handy, were used more or less for all kinds of buildings and also for clothes poles instead of clothes lines.

The roads were so rough and muddy a horse could not go after the snow was gone. We had neither horse or oxen, so we carried on our backs twenty-five (25) bushels of potatoes to eat and plant. We would get up and start before breakfast. Father, Dexter and I through the woods—not the

road—but a line of spotted trees to guide until we got a path worn so we could see it. Father would take a bushel, Dexter half a bushel, and I, a peck, and get home to breakfast with a good appetite.

March 8, 1899.

It may be that this is the sixty-eighth anniversary of our moving onto Meriden Hill. At any rate it was in March. We had a cow and very little hay. When the buds on the trees began to swell and show signs of leaves, we cut down a birch tree and let the cow "browse" (eat the buds and twigs) until the leaves were grown, then she could get her living in the woods. Well, we had six acres of land cleared ready for the seed, but no oxen or cart, wagon or sleigh, plow or harrow, but somehow got some wheat to sow and engaged a man out on the main road to come out and harrow in the wheat. I remember this incident more particularly by the preparation that was made for dinner that day.

Some way father got a half dollar and bought four pounds of salt pork and we had some of it for dinner that day. The first meat we had tasted for a long time. Now we had to take our hoes and grub in around the stumps. A harrow would not touch the ground near a stump, the roots were so large and the grubbing was covering the wheat where the harrow did not cover it. Then we sowed oats, and planted potatoes and were sure of a crop of good potatoes if the frost held off. There was no market for potatoes, they were so plentiful; 400 bushels an acre was a common yield. There was no corn raised about there, the frost came too early. There were no apples, and, of course, no cider. There were choke cherries and wild plums called Canada plums, and wild cherries. They used to dry pumpkin, cut it off in circles and hang it on poles overhead in the kitchen, and use it for pies and sauce instead of apples. In the season for trout fishing, could get plenty of trout in a brook near by, and boil and eat with potatoes and salt, for want of butter or lard or anything else to fry them in. Sometimes could get a piece of bear meat or venison from some hunter who had killed more than he wanted.

My experience in hunting was limited to going out after deer once on snowshoes. Two of us with one gun, no dog. We found where they had yarded but no deer. Our gun was an old Queen's arm flint lock and likely not to go off, but I had an encounter with a bear which was different. A hunter had set a bear trap, a log trap (called a deadfall) near the path where we brought home the potatoes. My uncle (Elias Thomas), brother Dexter and I were going down the path and thought we would look at the trap and behold there was a bear in it. It needed the two strongest to lift the deadfall so uncle and Dexter lifted the log and I pulled out the bear and he (or it) fell on its side and as I let go of it, it rolled over onto its feet and I thought it was going to get up. Well, I left that bear pretty quick (P. D. Q.), you bet, but he had been dead a day or two; but I did not hear the last of running from a dead bear for a long time.

I think I told you about building the house. You will observe there was no masonry, no plumbing, no painting, no stairbuilding, no water-closets or bathroom. The bathtub was a washtub in some retired place. The second year we were there (I think) I cut my foot badly with an ax. I had to lie on my back a long time with the foot in a box. When I got so I could go on crutches I went out to the river district, boarded with an uncle and went to school four or five weeks and that's how I got such an education. The family consisted of father, mother, Dexter, Lester, Orvis, Mary, Jennette, William was born soon after we moved and Carlos and Carrie were born after we went to Northcumberland. Will tell about that later, if I don't get tired.

Meriden Hill Notes.

I told something of books in our school on Meriden Hill, but nothing of paper, pens, and ink. At the beginning of school father got one dozen sheets of paper and mother made a cover of coarse paper or old newspaper for a writing book and for ink we got some inside bark of the white maple tree and boiled it until it was black and used the liquid for ink. For pens we got the quills of the goose or the crow, and the

teacher (who always had a penknife) would make a pen or mend it for a new beginner and set a copy in the writing book.

One thing happened which I well remember. There was no chimney in the house when we moved in, but a place eight or ten feet square in the middle of the floor, left open, and there we had the fire and done the cooking and to get a draught on the smoke made a funnel of boards from the oven layer up through the roof. Well one day father was laid up with "rheumatiz" could not get off the bed without help. Suddenly, someone sang out, the house is on fire. Father sprang off the bed and into a chair and was on his feet on the overlay in a twinkling. He called for an ax and knocked that funnel to pieces mighty quick, and saved the house and lost the rheumatism, and went to work a well man. Could any Christian Scientist healer do a quicker or better job than that?

I told about building the house, but not about the chimneys. After warm weather came we got some clay for mortar, some stone, and a mason and had a chimney with three fireplaces. Could burn three-foot wood in the kitchen fireplace, and burned 25 or 30 cords a year. Father got a plank and made a table one and one-half inches thick, four feet wide and eight feet long.

Well, when the wheat and oats were ripe we had to reap them with a sickle, and draw them to the barn on a sled; could not use a cart if we had one. We had got a yoke of oxen and the next year got a cart without any tire on the wheels, iron was too expensive. We had put the frame for a barn up, and shingled with shingles, four feet long and boarded, but no floor, but where the floor should be, laid some poles and the wheat across the poles, heads together and underneath (the stable was under the floor) hung sheets, then threshed the bundles and the wheat dropped into the sheets, then when there was a good wind blowing, dip it out of the sheets and hold it high over a tub and turn it gently out into the tub. The wind would blow the chaff away. When we got a bushel or so father would take it on his back to the mill over the pathe by the bear trap. Then we would have some bread.

One other thing I have not forgotten. One day, we were

clearing off a piece of land, a sheriff came and attached the oxen. Father had to go two or three miles and get someone to receipt for them or have them driven off. He was in debt at the store $60 and settled it by clearing off six acres of land on a near-by lot. Clothes? How we ever kept clothed I never could tell. I don't remember of having anything new except stockings and mittens. Every fall, mother would knit us a pair of blue and white mittens. They were warm and nice, but soon there would be holes in them. Then she would darn them, and when that failed would cover the inside with sheepskin or old cloth. Someway they must last through the winter and about the same with the stockings. Father turned shoemaker. He made a bench, bought some tools and rainy days and evenings worked at shoemaking or mending. The greatest trouble was to get the leather. He made me a pair of shoes, the upper leather was a pair of old bootlegs. They were not very stylish; he made the lasts.

Mother spun the shoe thread from flax. Father made the wax with rosin and tallow and I shined them up with grease instead of blacking, and that's the way we lived on Meriden Hill.

May 15, 1899.

Yours received and you say Charley Tobin saw them make maple sugar in Ohio. I will tell you how we made it on Meriden Hill. We went into the woods where maple trees were plenty, but many other kinds of trees there also; we cut down a tree, usually a basswood or fir, 15 or 16 inches in diameter, cut the body of the tree into logs three feet long, split the logs in halves and dug out each half and made a trough that would hold nearly a pailful of sap. We made as many troughs as we wanted to tap trees. Tapped the trees with a tapping iron which was a gouge-shaped chisel, then with an ax cut into the tree (we called it boxing) so the sap would run out from the lowest corner, directly under that drive in the tapping iron and a spout, shaped by tapping iron driven into that cut would carry the sap into the trough if properly placed.

To boil the sap down to a syrup we had as many kettles as we could get hung on a pole and a fire under them, usually between two logs, had a hogshead or barrel to hold the sap as it was gathered, and to gather the sap we had a neck-yoke (sap yoke, we called it) and two buckets. When the snow was deep went on snowshoes and if one happened to fall down with snowshoes on his feet and two buckets of sap on his shoulders—well no Christian man could do justice to the situation. When there was a good run of sap would have to boil all night so it would not run to waste. This was a primitive and wasteful way of making maple sugar, but it was the same with everything at Meriden Hill.

In March, 1836, we moved to Northcumberland, N. H., 20 miles south of Meriden Hill, onto a good farm, which father hired so as to have better schools for us children, and in March, 1837, I, with my older brother, Dexter, went to Greenfield, Mass., 200 miles south of Northcumberland to work boating on the Connecticut River, with headquarters at Cheapside, and will tell something of my first trip on the boat.

About the first of April five of us (a boat's crew) started for North Hadley on foot. (I should have said the journey from Northcumberland to Greenfield was on foot, had no money to pay stage fare.) The boat was kept there through the winter and that was about 15 miles. The next day we got the sails and rigging and tools on board, and the next day loaded the boat with brooms about 25,000 for Newport, put on board a steamboat at Hartford. Everything was new and strange to me. We had no provisions or beds on board. The next day we started about noon, thought we could get to South Hadley canal before dark, but the wind rose and the water was high and rough and at dark we were driven on shore, or rather into the trees at the point right opposite the north end of Mt. Tom, very near where Dwight Pierce now lives. We made the boat fast to the trees and pitched the tent over the brooms, got under it and slept as best we could until daylight started and got to South Hadley canal about noon with nothing to eat since noon of the day before. We had dinner at the boarding house kept

by widow Julia M. Day, afterwards Mrs. Quartus Judd (Aunt Julia) and there I first saw Mary Moody, whom I married February 8, 1844. Perhaps this is the last of my early recollections.

INDUSTRIAL AND HOME LIFE IN A NEW HAMPSHIRE TOWN A CENTURY AGO.

BY JOHN CARROLL CHASE OF BOSTON.

The New Hampshire town which is the scene of my address is the one in which, as a matter of record, I first saw the light of day nearly four score years ago.

It was a grant by George First of England in 1722 to certain citizens of the coast-wise towns of the State, who engaged in a venture much like the promotion schemes of these latter days, quite different from the adjoining grant to Scotch-Irish settlers, already on the ground, before their title had been secured.

It is a matter of note that at this date, one year less than a hundred after the first settlement in the State, this territory, less than forty miles from the coast, was practically unsettled.

While the grant in question called for a tract ten miles square the grantees managed to secure an actual area of 158 square miles. There were several eager applicants for grants at the time and it is a matter of conjecture if the giving of five hundred acre farms to the Governor and Lieut. Governor and admitting the members of the Governor's Council as proprietors in the venture had any influence in securing the grant and its enlargement. It was a business proposition, pure and simple, and indicates that the children of the present day "have nothing" on their forebears. Of the more than a hundred grantees only a tenth of them ever became actual settlers, disposing of their rights as fast as there was a demand for lots, which were laid out as the demand called for them.

In a few years smaller township divisions became desirable, on account of the long distance the settlers had to travel to attend religious services for which they were taxed, and a little over a hundred years later five separations had been made and the part retaining the original name has now only one-sixth of the granted area.

When the first of my eight ancestors to settle in the town appeared on the scene, some twenty years after the original settlement, the locality was practically an unbroken forest, his nearest neighbors being two and four miles away, the only communication being by a bridle path. Roads of the crudest form followed in due time, but it was many years before they were traversed by horse-drawn wheel vehicles, oxen being the motive power.

The particular ancestor I mention, with his newly-wedded wife, journeyed to their new home on a single horse, from a Massachusetts town some thirty miles away. She carried in her hand a small seedling pear tree which survived for over 140 years, to my personal knowledge. The fruit was so far superior to that of other trees in town that scions were in demand near and far. Today the fruit would not be considered at all palatable, but the boyhood recollection of it baked with molasses in a bean-pot overnight in the old brick oven is still a fragrant memory.

The first settlers lived, as a matter of course, in log houses, but it was not long before framed houses made their appearance, as a year before the Charter was secured some of the Proprietors, who had already settled on the tract, probably considering that they had a "secure thing," granted, under certain conditions, the building of a saw-mill and grist-mill on the "upper falls of the great Brook." In due time some three score saw, grist, and fulling mills were built on the grant, but today I doubt if there are anywhere near a dozen in operation, the portable steam mill slaughtering the forests before the trees arrive at maturity, and two or three grist-mills taking care of the small amount of grain that is raised.

Flax and wool were prominent factors in the everyday life of the community. The last flax raised by my father

was in the year of my birth, and I have in my possession some of the "tow," as the coarse outside fiber was called. At that time the wool and flax were carded by hand and the whir of the spinning wheel and the clank of the hand loom were audible evidences of the industry that was being carried on indoors. Hand carding had gone out before my recollection and the wool was exchanged at a "fulling-mill" in a near-by town for cloth and the "rolls" that were spun into yarn, and it is hardly fifty years since my feet were shod with woolen stockings knit by a doting grandmother, or spinster great-aunt, with yarn spun by themselves.

The clothes of the period of which I am speaking were largely made on the premises, from home woven cloth of wool or flax. As late as my boyhood the fall visit of the local tailoress is a well remembered event, coming as it did, about hog-killing time.

The shoemaker was also a peripatetic visitor in the olden time, but had vanished from the scene before my day.

The food of the time was quite different from that of these later days. It was largely of home production, the products of the soil; corn, oat, rye, and barley being the principal cereals, and potatoes, turnips, and pumpkins the vegetables. A favorite way of cooking the pumpkin, according to my grandmother, was to make an opening in the shell, remove the seeds, fill up with milk, and bake, and then dish it out of the shell.

Tobacco was used to some extent, by both sexes, and was raised by the user. A family tradition is that my ancestor one time found to his disgust, after the plants were well developed, that he had been sold mullein seed, it being almost identical with that of tobacco, and the plants very much alike in the early growth.

Before the introduction of stoves fire was kept by burying good hard-wood brands in the ashes. When the fire was lost and neighbors were not at hand to borrow from, resort was had to flint and steel with tinder to catch, and a sulphur match to take from that, or a flintlock gun with a little powder and tow was sometimes used. When stoves

became common, about a century ago, friction or lucifer matches were introduced.

Milk pails were of wood and the pans of earthenware. The dishes and spoons were of pewter, with wooden plates for the children. A piece of cooper's ware, called a "*piggin*," one stave projecting above the others for a handle, was used as a ladle, and the shells of gourds were also used for the same purpose. Hard-shell pumpkin shells were used to store balls of yarn and remnants of cloth, and it is told of one old lady that she possessed at her death the shells that she had carried from her father's house at the time of her marriage, fifty years before.

Coming poor into a new and hard, rocky country, the settlers fared hard and sometimes had a scanty living. It was customary for the head of the family to go to the "Falls," in the present city of Manchester, and get and salt a barrel of lamprey-eels or alewives. The eels were a noteworthy food of the period and a local poet later set forth the high esteem in which they were held, in connection with a common beverage of the time.

> "Our fathers treasured the slimy prize;
> They loved the eel as their very eyes;
> And of one 'tis said, with slander rife,
> For a string of eels he sold his wife.
> From the eels they formed their food in chief,
> And eels were called the *Derryfield beef*.
> Such a mighty power did the squirmers wield
> O'er the goodly men of old Derryfield,
> It was often said that their only care,
> And only wish, and their only prayer,
> For the present world and the world to come,
> Was a string of eels and a jug of rum."

Some wheat was raised, but no fine flour was made at this time, rye and Indian bread being the staple article. Potatoes introduced, with flax, by the Scotch-Irish of the neighboring town, were a staple article of diet, being roasted in the hot embers on the stone hearth of the great fireplace, which roasted one side of the person while the other side was nearly frozen, but insured good ventilation, undoubtedly adding to the robustness of the people of that day.

A common drink was cider, but in warm weather home-made hops and spruce beer had the preference. Beer was an indispensible article for the innholders for the purpose of making "*flip*" in winter.

The grantees and some of the early settlers were largely of English descent, and were Congregationalists, but with them were a few Scotch-Irish who were Presbyterians. There was naturally some prejudice of race, and each, of course, like all other sects in all countries, had a strong preference for their own doctrines and modes of worship. When the Presbyterians increased in numbers and were able to settle a minister of their own they naturally did not like to be taxed to pay the minister who had been settled by the Proprietors. In due time they were released from taxation and maintained their organization for over a hundred years when, in accordance with the trend of the times, it was given up and a Congregational Society succeeded.

In that far-off day nearly everybody went to "meeting," the usual designation of the Sunday religious service, riding on horseback, or in a sleigh in winter, the horses standing exposed to the weather, and the worshippers, men, women, and children, during two long services and intermission, sitting in a cold house without fire, excepting that the women might have a foot-stove. It is little more than a hundred years ago that the first stove was installed in the meeting-house, a full hundred years after the settlement of the town. Truly, "going to meeting" in those days was a strenuous indulgence, but one of the few get-togethers of the time when social intercourse was considered more or less frivolous, if not sinful.

A function preliminary to marriage at that time was publishing the "banns" by the town clerk or minister, but before the Revolution a license was sometimes procured from the Governor, for which, it is said, a charge of two crowns was made. This was very convenient for clandestine marriages, although not always confined to such. The ministers of the adjoining town opposed the practice, but the Reverend Ebenezer Flagg, who was pastor of the Chester church for sixty years, approved of the procedure and, as a matter of

course, all those in the neighborhood wishing to be married by license resorted to him and "*Flagg marriages*" became the designation. A license issued in 1737 is still in existence and it seems to have been a tolerably prolific marriage, as eight births are recorded on the back of the license, and the death of the wife in 1804 at the age of eighty-four years.

Aged people are disposed to say that "*It was not so when I was young,*" yet there were radical innovators even then who disturbed the quiet of the conservatives. Music seems to have been a matter about which there was much dissension in the early days. The singing was congregational. The minister read the Psalm, and repeated the first two lines, which the chorister took up and sang. A deacon in a pew directly in front of the pulpit then read a line, in which the whole congregation joined in singing, then another line was read and sung. The reading, being done by a deacon, was styled "*deaconing the Psalm.*" At the raising of buildings it was customary to sing a Psalm after the frame was up, and they probably sung with *spirit*, as that was a usual adjunct of raisings. Ludicrous parodies were in evidence when some joker was called upon to "deacon the Psalm."

The introduction of a bass viol at a thanksgiving service led to the abrupt departure of one of the deacons and musical instruments did not become common in church services in this town until a little over a hundred years ago, and it is only about as long a time since it was considered essential to have the meeting-house warmed by a stove. The first time a fire was kindled in the first stove it cracked, and the conservatives had a chance to say, "*I told you so.*"

The severity of the climate and doctrine was mitigated by a visit during the intermission to the near-by tavern to partake of a well-known product of the still, a common drink of the time. While the public patronized the bar, the Parson was served in a private room, but indulged just the same.

Cooking stoves did not appear in town until about a hundred years ago. Before they were introduced the tin baker was used before an open fire. My grandmother continued its use until her decease some fifty years ago. Pre-

vious to stoves the "Dutch-oven" was an important device for cooking. It was a small cast-iron kettle with an iron cover, into which the articles to be cooked were put and then the kettle was buried in the coals in the fireplace. Meat was roasted by means of a "*spit*," so called, which was an iron rod, suspended in bearings before the fire, to which the meat was attached and the rod turned by various devices. Sometimes the meat was suspended by a string over the fire with a dripping pan underneath, and one of the children would turn the meat with a stick until the string was twisted hard; upon being released the meat would turn the other way until the string was untwisted.

The clothing was mostly homemade. The men sometimes wore leather "*small-clothes*" of moose hide, buck, or sheep skin. The wool, from a coarse-wooled breed of sheep, was carded by hand, a very laborious work for the women. To make it more cheerful they would sometimes get together for a "*bee*," or "*wool-breaking*." A woman's stint for spinning was five skeins per day, for which the usual price was *fifty cents per week* and *board*, sometimes less. Machine carding came in early in the last century and then the wool was taken to the factory and exchanged for cloth and "rolls," the latter being spun into yarn for stockings. Home weaving was largely discontinued when power looms came into use. The first incorporated woolen mill was erected in 1794 at the falls on the Parker River at Byfield, in Newbury, Mass., and was soon followed by others in the section of the country which I am picturing. The cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen was a prominent industry in the adjoining town of Londonderry, having been introduced by the Scotch-Irish, and their fine linen cloth and thread were widely known and had a high reputation.

Dyeing cloth and yarn was a necessary home industry for many years in the new community, and attractive results were often achieved, various barks furnishing the desired colors, in addition to the indigo "*dye-pot*" which all good housewives had in which was dyed the wool for stockings and aprons. Many times when I was a small boy and came in from sliding, or other recreation, with my hands

tingling with cold, I have had them wrapped in my grandmother's home woven blue woolen apron, but the home dye-pot had vanished before my day.

Soap making was another industry that has not yet gone out of date. The ashes from the fires were carefully saved until spring, when the "*leach-tub*" was set up, filled with ashes and then water poured in which found its way to the bottom of the tub, coming out as "*lye*," with a required specific gravity to float an egg, the native way of testing its strength. To the boy who had to pump the water it seemed as if the tub would never be filled to the saturation point. The lye boiled with the year's accumulation of grease made the soft soap that was the variety in general household use, cakes of hard soap being found only in what is now known as the "guest chamber."

The tanning of leather was another important local industry. Chemical processes were then unknown and a solution from the bark of hemlock trees was the usual coagulant, oak bark coming into use at a later date. The bark was ground by a primitive mill, consisting of a large circular mill-stone, rolled around a central post by a horse travelling at the end of a sweep, the bark being spread on the floor and raked towards the center of the platform as the stone passed in its revolutions. A bark mill was invented in 1808 by Paul Pillsbury of Byfield, Mass., and a few years later began to be used in town. The farmers were their own butchers, and carried their hides to the tanners, who did the tanning by the piece or on shares. As money was not overabundant at the time it may be assumed that share work predominated. Upper leather would tan during the summer, affording winter occupation to curry it. The sole leather required a year or more for the process, quite a contrast to present-day tanning, and the lasting of the leather is in about the same proportion as the time expended.

Sale-shoe work was not then known, the stock being taken to the local shoemaker, who sometimes went from house to house with his "kit," frequently being paid by work on his farm, another instance of exchange, or "barter," a custom that is in vogue when money is not largely

circulated. At that time the utmost economy had to be practiced, all of the youth and some of the elders going barefoot during the summer; the girls when going to meeting would either go barefoot or wear heavy shoes, until near their destination, and carry the "morocco" ones in a bag, to save wear. The father and mother, and sometimes the grandfather and grandmother, went on horseback with saddle and "pillion," and the younger members of the family walked, often from three to six miles. In my boyhood it was a matter of note that those farthest from the meeting-house, living some five miles away, were more punctual in attendance than others who lived within a "stone's throw."

Shoe pegs were whittled out by hand, a possible occupation for our retiring President, but about 1812, the inventor of the bark-mill, before mentioned, invented a machine for making them, which made an end of hand labor in that line.

All farming implements were of domestic manufacture, the blacksmith being one of the most useful men of the time. The plows had wrought iron shares, and a wooden mould-board plated with scrap iron. Cast-iron plows appeared about a hundred years ago, but the inherited tools made by one of my ancestors were in use in my early boyhood. Scythes, hoes, rakes, pitchforks, and crude shovels, with a cutting edge of iron, came from the same source and were not discarded until a half-century ago.

The first mention of a wagon I have seen was in 1797, but ox-drawn vehicles were in use a few years earlier. It is related that a man who had procured an ox-wagon to move the household effects of a family from a town several miles away, laid awake the night before starting, planning how he would turn his wagon when he arrived at his destination. Light one-horse wagons and the heavy, clumsy "one-horse chaise" began to be used in the early years of the last century.

Most of the travelling was done on horseback, and frequently *double,* the man before and the woman on the *pillion* behind. The transportation of small articles was done in

saddlebags. The going to mill was also on horseback, and large and heavy articles were transported long distances. When one of my ancestors built his house in 1771 he brought in that way the windows ready glazed from Newbury, Mass., about forty miles away.

Snowshoes were in general use when travelling on foot over deep snow. Then it was hard necessity and not the sport of these latter days. Family history says my grandfather took a bushel of corn on his shoulder and travelled across the snow to the grist-mill, nearly three miles away.

The commercial making of edged tools became an industry in town early in the last century and was maintained for about fifty years, when removal was made to localities where power, other than horse, could be had.

Coopering was no insignificant industry then and was, naturally, all hand work. The making of barrels and hogsheads for the transportation of beef, fish, rum, and molasses furnished a market for the timber growth of the locality, and the making of "shooks," as the staves for hogsheads were called, and the shaved wooden hoops, added no small sum to the income of the settlers. The "shooks" were made of red oak fitted for assembling, and shipped to the West Indies where they were set up, filled with molasses or rum and returned to the "States." There were no pail or tub factories, but everything of the kind was made by hand, of the best materials, heavy and substantial, and had careful usage. A family cheese-tub and milk-pail made in 1760 were in daily use until 1814 and a washtub made about the same time lasted until within my recollection.

Wool hats were also a homemade product of the period and in more than one case the possessor of a Christian name held by two or three of a certain family was called "Hatter," as a distinguishing cognomen. Braided hats made of strips of the soft wood of the poplar were produced for home consumption and outside sale. Later the imported palm leaf was brought to town and the braiding of hats was a source of income for the thrifty housewife.

The making of potash from the good hard green wood burnt in the immense fireplaces was no inconsiderable

source of income in the first hundred years of the town's existence.

Many of the comparatively few clocks used at the time were made in town, an ancestor of mine being the principal maker in the last half of the eighteenth century. One made in 1788 is still doing its work in a reliable manner in my apartment. The movements, made of brass, were sold separately and cased to suit the taste of the purchaser. This one cost twenty dollars and was paid for, in part, by wood at eight shillings per cord, hauled to the maker's shop four miles from the purchaser's farm.

High wages and union hours did not appertain in those days. From an ancestral account book I glean that in 1804 a young woman was credited with twenty-one weeks' work, household and nursing, $10.50, and charged with an umbrella, $3, the first one used in that section of the town, and in usable condition in 1868. In 1819 another young woman, characterized "as one of the best" by my grandfather, who married her, worked for sixty-seven cents per week, at housework, including spinning, milking, and nursing an invalid woman. She was charged for a pair of cowhide shoes, $1.34, and $1.57 for a pair of Morocco shoes. Contrast two weeks' work, or probably sixteen hours per day, being paid for a pair of shoes, with the working conditions of the present day.

The "fulling-mill" built some twenty years after the town was settled, with others, was in use for nearly a hundred years, these mills being rebuilt with improvements several times in the course of their lives. When the first one was built there was none nearer than the Canadian line, and it has been stated that cloth was brought two hundred miles to be dressed.

The making of machine-cut nails, headed by hand, flourished for several years, from 1794, the heading being done by convicts in the state prison some fifteen miles away.

These necessary industries were continued until the increase in population and wealth, and the introduction of improved machinery displaced the local products.

The early houses of the settlers were of one story, with

one to three rooms, but as the years went by a second story was added with more rooms on the ground floor. In the olden time bare floors were the rule, and "sand clean." Braided rugs followed in due time, and hand-woven carpets later. "Store brooms" were a luxury and one of my boyhood tasks was getting a fresh supply of hemlock boughs for my grandmother to use in making brooms, she continuing the customs of the early days until she passed on in her ninetieth year. The broad stone fireplaces were admirable places to receive the sweepings of the room and were in quite general use within my earliest recollection, but stoves were resorted to in the winter months, in the majority of cases. The light that came down the chimney aided in lighting the room, which usually had few windows, followed, when darkness fell, by the cheerful fire, and many a youth has been lighted to fame and fortune by the mellow radiance of a blazing pine knot. Tallow candles were in general use, supplemented by whale oil, which was used more largely by the well-to-do. The original method of making the candles was by "dipping," but candle-moulds had come into use before my time, and at the age of ten years that branch of work devolved upon me, although some dipping fell to my lot. The use of whale oil ended at the beginning of the Civil War on account of the destruction of whaling vessels by Confederate privateers. Other lighting oils and fluids had been in use to some extent but began to be displaced by kerosene in the late fifties, whose use soon became general.

While one or more graveyards had been set apart soon after the settlement of the town, it was more than a hundred years before an investment was made, when two were bought, one being for the section of the old town, which was severed latest from the original grant. Previous to this purchase the dead had been carried to their graves on a "bier," borne upon men's shoulders, a sleigh being used when the snow was deep. Our family record tells of interments which took place at a distance of four and nine miles from homes, where members of our family had officiated as bearers.

I have endeavored in the time I have occupied to throw some sidelights on the industrial and home life in a country

town a century and more ago. Much could have been added had time and the risk of exhausting your patience admitted. While what I have presented has been localized almost entirely, the conditions and experiences I have set forth are typical of the time and section of the country where the scenes are laid.

Can there be any question that the life led by these pioneers, their struggles for existence, and their methods of overcoming the obstacles they met, did not have a powerful influence on their progeny who went forth to conquer the western wilds and who left their mark on their country's history?

TO THE LITTLE RED SHOE.

(*In the Museum of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association of Deerfield, Mass.*)

BY ELVIRA BUSH SMITH OF BOSTON.

Frail, tiny shoe, made long ago,
  What horrors have you seen!
What sights of woe,—what tragedies,—
  Where now are meadows green!

O little shoe, made long ago,
  A fragment, soiled and torn,
What weary miles o'er snowy wastes
  Were you with sorrow worn!

What anguish filled those captives' hearts,
  First led to bondage sore,
When Indian tomahawks drew blood,
  And heroes' lives were o'er!

Then Sergeant Wait and Jennings, too,
  Went fearless to the foe,
And brought, redeemed, a saddened band,
  From depths of untold woe.

Those toilsome miles from Canada,
By Champlain's waters blue,
From Albany's far frontier post,
That anguished trail you knew.

The little Sarah, only four,
Wore you through days of pain,
Till willow-fringed streams you saw,
And Hatfield Street again.

Those fearful, bloody wars are o'er,
Forgotten seems our past,
But Deerfield keeps her treasures safe,
And will, while Time shall last.

Here, all, who love our history,
May learn of heroes brave,
May see memorials they have left,
Learn what they tried to save.

May we, who trace our lineage
From patriots, staunch and true,
Thank God they labored with their might,
Built better than they knew.

And, now, O tiny, fragile shoe,
Worn bravely long ago,
Our hearts are thrilled, our eyes are dimmed
Your tragic tale all know.

O touching treasure, soiled and torn,
A tiny maiden's shoe,
Authentic relic handed down,
What sufferings you knew!

Today you make our hearts aglow,
And, when in years to come,
We hear the tale of Deerfield proud,
We'll tell how you came home.

From northern wastes, and realms of snow,
From haunts of savage men,
And how you bore that tiny maid
To loved ones here again.

THE PROBATE COURT AND ITS JUDGES.

BY JUDGE FRANCIS NIMS THOMPSON.

Our subject has broad possibilities. One *might* begin with the earliest known will, written on papyrus 2548 years B. C., and come down by easy stages to English law and procedure, which should receive considerable attention as constituting our immediate background and being in some part our present law. Then an historical review of the continually broadening jurisdiction of our own probate courts in Massachusetts would be in order, with a comparative discussion of the very different probate procedure in the other 47 States of our Union. And this would bring us right down to the immediate matter of probate law and practice in Massachusetts, which we could take up under several headings, as: Drawing, probating and interpreting wills; Settlement of estates including accounting and inheritance taxes; Trusts under wills and deeds; Descent of real estate and distribution of personal property, under successive statutes; Real estate in probate courts, including sales and mortgages, assignments and partitions, life uses and reversions, etc.; Guardianship and conservatorship; Divorce and separate support; Custody of children and kindred matters; and the miscellaneous *other* jurisdiction given these courts during three centuries by a generous legislature.

Each topic could be illustrated by *stories* from real life, running the entire scale of human emotions, after the manner of the Arabian Nights but of greater local interest and greater *length;*—but something prevents: I remember that the P. V. M. A. is a local institution and a memorial association; and I will devote myself, after a very brief historical

sketch, to memorials of the judges of our local Probate Court, with some reference to the registers associated with them.

Our *probate* courts have an origin and a jurisdiction entirely unlike those of other courts. They are the successors of the ecclesiastical courts of England, which had jurisdiction (of Roman derivation) which was exclusive, and entirely separate from that of the temporal courts, and included all matters concerning the soul. There seemed to be no question but that the disposition of property at death concerned the soul; at any rate the ecclesiastical courts, and not the law courts, settled all those matters.

The law courts administered the common law of England (of Teutonic origin), which is good law in New England today, except where changed by statute. "The Colony charter, under which the English settlers of Massachusetts emigrated and organized, contained no particular provisions for the establishment of courts. It was framed for the regulation of a commercial and land corporation, rather than with a view to the establishment of a civil and political government." Our Pilgrim fathers were accustomed to the English shires or counties, both words signifying the same in English law; though "county" was derived from the French, and designated that portion of the country under the immediate government of a count, while "shire" was from the Saxon and is preserved by us in the names of our counties of Berkshire and Hampshire, in calling our county-seats shire towns and in the title sheriff derived from the "shire-reeve," who was the governor under a count.

Naturally, the colonists established counties; and in the counties courts were set up under the general authority which the charter gave the governor and assistants to govern the colony. These were primarily law courts for the trial of civil and criminal cases under the common law. Of course the people of our New England wanted no established church and no ecclesiastical courts; so—as the ocean was very wide in those pre-Lindbergh days and the Yankees had a way of going ahead and doing things—the county courts held by the "assistants" exercised probate jurisdiction, and at Northampton in the early records of old Hamp-

shire county you will find civil, criminal and probate matters curiously intermingled.

The independent attitude of the New Englanders resulted in the dissolution of the colonial charter. Under the province charter of 1691, the courts were newly organized; and, with better logic, the probate jurisdiction was taken from the common-law courts. Although it was by the new charter given to the governor and council, the provincial legislature undertook to establish county courts of probate. This act was negatived by the king, and so (again acting under the general authority vested in the governor and council and continuing on their own course without disobeying their king) probate *officers* were appointed in the several counties; and this was the beginning of the Probate Courts as tribunals distinct from the courts of common law. Appeals could be taken to the governor and council, who remained the supreme court of probate. These tribunals have continued to function, and the legislature has regulated their powers and greatly enlarged their jurisdiction until the several probate courts are now courts of domestic relations as well as of the administration of property of decedents, wards and beneficiaries under trusts. These are state courts, each having jurisdiction throughout the commonwealth.

Following the Revolution, the province was succeeded by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the constitution of 1780 had provisions *concerning* the probate courts, but the first formal establishment of these courts was by an act of 1784 and that act also made the Supreme Judicial Court the Supreme Court of Probate. The Superior Court, the Probate Courts and the Land Court are now equal, each within the limits of its own jurisdiction, and over them all is the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, which sits however as the Supreme Court of Probate when considering probate appeals, this emphasizing the peculiar position of the Probate Courts in our judicial system.

When the first session of the Probate Court for the county of Franklin was held on the first Tuesday of April, 1812, Solomon gave judgment and Isaac inscribed it, for Solomon Smead had been appointed judge, and Isaac B.

Barber register, of the court on the twenty-second day of the previous October. Until 1811 the whole Connecticut Valley, between the great counties of Berkshire and Worcester, had been Hampshire county—the "home shire." June 24th, 1811, our county of Franklin was incorporated and in the next year Hampden; and these are the youngest counties of Massachusetts. Greenfield was made the shire town of little Franklin, and in 1813 there was erected a courthouse, now the home of the still older *Gazette and Courier*. Until the courthouse was completed sessions of the courts were held in the old Willard Tavern, which stood where is now the granite building of The Franklin Savings Institution.

As Isaac B. Barber of Colrain became a captain in the War of 1812, his service as register of probate was limited to a few months of that year. He was born May 20, 1787, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1805 and admitted to the bar in 1808. His death occurred in Rochester, N. Y., September 21, 1864. The second register of the court held that office during nearly all of the first twenty-nine years of the court's existence, and we may conveniently divide the history of the court into *four periods* of 29 years each. From 1812 to 1840 Elijah Alvord was its register, serving in the original courthouse and under the first three judges. The years 1841 to 1870 made up the Grennell-Mattoon period, when one or the other was either register or judge of probate. From 1870 to 1899 Chester C. Conant was judge and Francis M. Thompson was register; and during the 29 years since 1899 Francis Nims Thompson has been either register or judge, being the tenth person in each position and the fifth who held both offices. He has collected and placed in the courthouse portraits of all his predecessors, with the exception of Judge Smead.

First Period—1812 to 1840.

Solomon Smead, Jonathan Leavitt and Richard E. Newcomb were the judges; Register Alvord serving almost the entire period, though Isaac B. Barber, just mentioned, was the first register of the court.

1. Hon. Solomon Smead occupied the bench less than three years. He had held other offices and Nov. 5, 1810, the town had made him and Elijah Alvord delegates to consider petitioning the Legislature for a division of old Hampshire county. He was a descendant of William Smead, an early permanent settler of Deerfield, who lost his eldest son at the Bloody Brook Ambush and whose widow, three daughters, and many grandchildren were slain at the Deerfield Massacre. Another son, Ebenezer, was an ancestor of the first and tenth judges of the Probate Court; he was a selectman of Deerfield; and Ebenezer, junior,—grandson of William and grandfather of Solomon,—served on the first board of selectmen of Greenfield. Deacon David Smead was also prominent in town affairs, representative in the general court for ten years, and became state senator. Judge Smead was the eldest of the eleven children of David and Mary (Hastings) Smead of Greenfield and was born September 14, 1754. His home was on the South Shelburne Road, and his burial place in the South Meadows Cemetery on the Colrain Road in Greenfield.

He married June 10, 1777, Esther Smith, who bore him many children, and died from fever January 2, 1808, several of their children dying within a month of that time. February 1, 1809, he married Mrs. Larinda Burke of Bernardston. In 1787 he was clerk of Capt. Moses Arms's loyal company in Shays's Rebellion. He was town clerk and town treasurer; then he was a selectman. He was one of the owners of "Burnham's rock" where salmon were caught; and appears by the direct tax list of 1798 to have been one of the town's largest owners of real estate. He became in 1809 Chief Justice of the Hampshire County Court of Sessions, and was appointed in 1812 as the first commissioner in the new county to administer oaths to civil officers. He, Jonathan Leavitt and Elijah Alvord were members of the First Congregational Church in Greenfield and were chosen by the town April 5, 1813, on a committee to hire a preacher of the gospel. After his retirement from the probate bench in 1814 Judge Smead served as representative to the General Court and as a member of the Governor's Council. He

died April 17, 1825, aged 72 years. No portrait of Judge Smead has been discovered.

Elijah Alvord became register of the court Nov. 25, 1812, and in 1820 became also clerk of the courts. These offices he continued to hold until his death September 8, 1840. Only the late Francis M. Thompson served as register of probate for a longer time. Whiting Griswold said, in 1873, "Elijah Alvord studied law with Judge Newcomb; was admitted to the bar in 1802. He received the honorary degree of A. M. from Dartmouth and Williams Colleges. He was Representative to the General Court, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, Register of Probate and clerk of the courts,—a most capable, courteous and faithful public officer. Mr. Alvord, Judges Leavitt and Newcomb, and George Grennell exercised a wide influence on all the questions connected with the establishment of our county, and the location of the county seat and public buildings." Upon the establishment of the county Mr. Alvord became its treasurer but he did not continue in that position. He was born Nov. 18, 1777, in Wilmington, Vermont. The diary of Rev. Dr. Roger Newton of Greenfield records Alvord's marriage Jan. 13, 1791, to Anne Bascome, and the death of Anna, the wife of Elijah Alvord, on August 23, 1791; also the marriage Nov. 12, 1805, of Elijah Alvord, Esq., of Greenwich & Sabra Wells. (She was a daughter of Col. Daniel and Rhoda (Newton) Wells, and therefore a sister of Chief Justice Daniel Wells and a cousin of the County Commissioners Thomas and Lucius Nims.) Their daughter, Sarah W., married the son of Judge Newcomb. Their sons, James Church and Daniel Wells Alvord, were members of the bar and had brilliant minds. James C. was elected to Congress in 1838, but "died Sept. 30, 1839, aged 31 years," according to a monument in the Congressional Cemetery. Daniel W. became state senator and district attorney, and died in Virginia in 1871. He was a graduate of Union College, 1838. Reminiscences by his son Major Henry E. Alvord make an interesting chapter (LXIX) in the *History of Greenfield* and it was he who presented the fine sepia portrait of his grandfather which hangs in the probate office.

Mr. Alvord was in 1813 one of a committee of the town to get a colleague minister for old Dr. Newton, and in 1815 of another to select a place for a new meeting-house for the Congregational Society; and he was in 1816 one of some 48 persons who asked to be dismissed from the old First church so that they might organize the Second. The names Alvord, Leavitt, Newcomb, Grennell and Ripley were on the list. It was represented to the Legislature that the old meeting-house was "as a place of worship neither decent nor convenient." Chief Justice Wells studied law with Mr. Alvord, and while in the courthouse Mr. Alvord employed in his office young James Deane, afterward doctor and ichthyologist with an office (now occupied by the G. A. R.) at the corner of Main and Hope Streets.

Elijah Alvord seems to have been interested in education, for he was instrumental in purchasing in 1828 the property south of the Second Congregational meeting-house for a high school for young ladies, and in 1832 he and Franklin Ripley were among the incorporators of the Fellenburg Academy and of the committee calling for bids to erect its building where the Main Street school now stands. At his death the *Gazette & Mercury* said of him "Few men have passed through the active part of life, constantly employed in public and private trusts, with a reputation so pure and ability so well and usefully directed."

2. Hon. Jonathan Leavitt was born February 27, 1764, the son of Rev. Jonathan Leavitt of Heath, and was graduated in 1786 from Yale College. He studied law at New Haven and married Emelia the daughter of President Stiles of Yale. Mr. Leavitt was admitted to the bar in 1789, settled in Greenfield about 1790, and built in 1797 the mansion which now houses the public library. The home was a hospitable center of culture and society and in its west wing was the judge's law office. He died May 1, 1830. Judges Leavitt and Newcomb and Register Alvord were all among the original grantees, in 1803, of the Federal Street Cemetery, and there are their graves.

In 1808 Jonathan Leavitt was made chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Hampshire county, and he be-

came judge of the Probate Court for the county of Franklin October 14, 1814. As he resigned that position in July, 1821, his term of office was somewhat less than seven years. In those days, and long afterward, probate judges engaged in practice as members of the bar, and the local paper gave notice in 1818 of a number of pension certificates received by him for veterans of the War of 1812. He was (1799) the first notary public in Greenfield. His brother, Hooker Leavitt, was register of deeds, county and town treasurer and town clerk. The judge seems to have been interested in all town and church matters. He was one of the "Proprietors of the Acqueduct in Greenfield" (1796). He was chosen May 2, 1799, a deacon of the First Congregational Church, and became one of the original members of the Second. Its pastor, Rev. Charles Jenkins, married one of Judge Leavitt's daughters. Another daughter of Judge Leavitt married Register Ingersoll. When The Franklin Bank was incorporated in 1822 Judge Leavitt was its president. (This became the First National Bank.) In 1825 and 1826 he was a member of the state senate. Evidently he was an important member of the small group of men who dominated the little Greenfield of a century ago, and the miniature portrait, from which the picture in the probate courtroom was taken, depicts a charming young gentleman.

3. Hon. Richard E. Newcomb, appointed judge of probate July 10, 1821, served nearly twenty-eight years and died in office May 14, 1849, at the age of 78, having been born October 30, 1770, in Lebanon, Connecticut. He was seven years older than Register Alvord, but survived him eight years, George Grennell being register of the court during those years. Only Judge Conant occupied the probate bench longer than Judge Newcomb.

Richard E. Newcomb was graduated from Dartmouth in 1793. The judge's son, a member of the Worcester bar, married Register Alvord's daughter; and it is of interest to me that *their* son, Joseph Warren Newcomb, junior, and I are both great-great-grandsons of John and Mary (Pickett) Newton of Greenfield; though it is perhaps of greater general interest that this grandson of the Probate Court was

the great-grandson of Gen. Joseph Warren and Col. Daniel Wells, and married a great-granddaughter of Gen. Israel Putnam, and that the son and granddaughters of this marriage are the only living descendants of General Warren.

I have a letter written by Judge Grennell to Lieut. Gov. Cushman Oct. 25th, 1860, in which he says:

"Richard English Newcomb was prepared for college principally at a private classical school, kept in Hatfield, Mass., by an Englishman by the name of Kerson. Educated for his profession in Greenfield, in the office of William Coleman, a lawyer of distinction;—afterwards the founder & editor of the *New York Evening Post.* Admitted to the bar of the old County of Hampshire in 1796, practiced in Greenfield as a partner of said Coleman. One year represented this town in the Genl. Court. He had little taste for political public life. . . . While Judge of Probate, he held the office of County Attorney, by executive appointment, for 4 years, & until that office was abolished thro' out the Com'lth. Several students fitted for professional practice in his office—some of whose names I remember, namely,—Elijah Alvord, Elihu Lyman, George T. Chapman, Rejoice Newton, George Grennell, H. G. Newcomb, David Willard, Joseph W. Newcomb.

"He was of the Episcopal denomination.

"As you will know, Sir, he was thrice married; 1st, To Miss Cushman of Connecticut. 2, To Wid. Lyman—daughter of Gen. Warren, 3d, To Wid. Lyman of Northfield, &c. Mr. N. was of a generous nature & warm & true in his friendships—You are familiar with his history.

"I am, Sir, truly & respectfully yours, Geo. Grennell."

Though the birth of Richard E. Newcomb was in Connecticut, his father, Hezekiah, soon afterward settled in Bernardston. Another son was *also* "Judge Newcomb," for Horatio G. was for a short time judge of the Court of Insolvency. Judge Richard E. (whose home is now the residence of Wm. S. Allen, Esq.) was visited in 1833 by that quaint diarist Christopher Columbus Baldwin, who laments that "We found the Hon. Judge Newcomb sick of a fever . . . but I took it at heart most, because, he

being Judge of Probate, could, if well, entertain me with family histories." And he saw in the parlor portraits by Copley of General and Mrs. Warren and "projected several schemes" to get them for the Worcester Antiquarian Society. Oh, these covetous lovers of the antique!

Judge Newcomb had a law office on the easterly side of Clay Hill (southerly of the old courthouse) at one time, and another on the north side of Main Street.

He delivered the address at a Fourth of July celebration in 1795 and spoke at the opening of the new $11,000 bridge at Montague City Nov. 26, 1802, and again at "a great railroad meeting" held Nov. 12, 1835. Several of his printed public addresses may be found in the P. V. M. A. library. His offices included those of tithing man and colonel, for he was in 1807 commissioned Lt. Col. Commandant (being discharged in 1812), and the town in 1842 decided that it needed tithing men and elected him as one of them.

Judge Newcomb is described as a gentleman of the old school, erect and dignified, having an extensive law practice. At the informal dedication of the present courthouse, shortly before his death, he, "although in feeble health, spoke at some length with much feeling and power."

Following the death of Register Alvord, Judge Newcomb appointed as temporary register of the court Isaac Newton, 2d, who for several months performed the duties of that office.

Second Period—1841 to 1870.

Nine men were judge, register or both during this second 29-year period, though during the entire four periods there have been but sixteen. Judge Newcomb, the connecting link between the first and second periods, continued on the probate bench until after the erection in 1848 of the present courthouse. This was then a building of suitable dignity of architecture, differing greatly from its present appearance. After the death of Judge Newcomb, the judges were George Grennell, Horatio G. Parker, Franklin Ripley and Charles Mattoon; and the six registers were Grennell, Davis, Lamb,

Mattoon, Ingersoll and Conant. I have called this the Grennell-Mattoon period: Grennell was register 1841–49, judge 1849–53, twelve years; and Mattoon was register 1853–58, judge 1858–70, seventeen years.

4. Hon. George Grennell. George Grennell, junior, the third register of the court, was commissioned January 28, 1841, and took the oaths of office the first day of February, being then 54 years old but having nearly 37 more years to live. His father was then ninety and lived three years longer. They were descended from Matthew Grennell who was in Newport, R. I., in 1638; Daniel, born 1636; Daniel, born about 1665; George, born about 1686; William, born February 26, 1726–27; George Grennell, senior, was born in Saybrook, Connecticut, July 14, 1750; and George Grennell, junior, was born in Greenfield on Christmas Day, 1786, and died November 20, 1877. His wife, Eliza Seymour Perkins, was of fine ancestry and their issue were descendants of six governors, eleven clergymen and several mere judges, of five signers of the Mayflower compact and of Elizabeth Alden, the first white woman born in New England. George Bird Grennell, authority on the American Indian, gave me much interesting information concerning his grandfather; and an edition of the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, to be issued at about this date, will contain this item:

Grennell, George, Jr., a Representative from Massachusetts; born in Greenfield, Mass., December 25, 1786; attended Deerfield Academy, and was graduated from Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., in 1808; was admitted to the bar in 1811; prosecuting attorney for Franklin county 1820–28; member of the State senate 1825–27; elected as a Whig to the Twenty-first and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1829–March 3, 1839); was not a candidate for renomination in 1838; presidential elector on the Whig ticket of Harrison and Tyler in 1840; trustee of Amherst College, Massachusetts, 1838–59; judge of probate 1849–53; clerk of Franklin County Courts 1853–65; first president of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad; died in Greenfield, Mass., November 19, 1877; interment in the Green River Cemetery.

I learn also that he attended the academy at New Salem for a time, was in 1813 adjutant of militia and in 1815 brigade major. He took part in a convention held in 1818 to determine the location of Amherst Academy, was a member of the board of trustees of Amherst College from 1838 to 1859, and received from that college the degree of LL.D. in 1854. The first bridge at Shelburne Falls across the Deerfield River was opened November 23, 1821, and Mr. Grennell delivered the address; in 1839 at Greenfield he presided when the Young Men's Whig Association celebrated the "glorious fourth" and again next year over the celebrated Whig Convention in the Harrison campaign, and he became presidential elector. He was deacon in 1821 and for many years after in the Second Congregational Church, where he was a constant attendant.

Following the death of Judge Newcomb, Mr. Grennell became, June 20, 1849, judge of probate. During his four years on that bench Wendell T. Davis and Samuel O. Lamb were the recording officers, and Mr. Lamb said of Judge Grennell "He was a man of fine abilities and a good lawyer. He was once candidate for lieutenant governor. When he was judge of probate and I register, I enjoyed many of the trips with him to the little villages outside, where we used to hold Probate Court sessions." In my own day we held until 1919 sessions of the court at Northfield, Conway and Shelburne Falls, as well as at Orange, going with horse and carriage and not forgetting to take our fish poles; and in Squire Lamb's time (Act of 1850) the court went farther up the stream, to Charlemont and to Lock's Village in Shutesbury.

Judge Grennell resigned his judicial position February 24, 1853, and became clerk of the courts. During his dozen years in that office his probate practice may well have been more lucrative than had been his salary as judge. At the opening of court March 18, 1873, in the remodelled courthouse, Whiting Griswold spoke of the presence of the venerable Judge Grennell adding "much to the interest and character of this occasion," and of his having been "the law partner at different times of Judge Newcomb, Almon

Brainard, David Aiken and of his son James S. Grennell"; and said, "We have before us a rare life, filled with duty and crowned with honor."

The terms of the two registers who served under Judge Grennell were short, but two years each, Mr. Davis being commissioned July 3, 1849; Mr. Lamb, April 16, 1851; and his successor June 7, 1853; and I shall have to content myself with correspondingly brief notices of two men worthy of full biographies, though as registers they could hardly have had sufficient experience to be valuable officials.

Wendell Thornton Davis and his brother George T. were sons of Wendell and Caroline W. Davis. Wendell T., the register, was born in Sandwich, Mass., April 4, 1818, was graduated at Harvard in 1838, studied at the Cambridge Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He came to Greenfield with his classmate Charles Devens (afterward Major General) and was for seven years the junior partner in the firm of Davis, Devens & Davis. Their office was where the Burnham building now is. Wendell T. Davis had at one time as his law partner Austin DeWolf and at another Franklin G. Fessenden. In 1845 he was the first Noble Grand of the Pocumtuck Lodge of Odd Fellows. In 1846 he purchased real estate between Court Square and the present Cohn block, and buying the old Methodist church, moved it to his lot and built a spring floor therein for dancing. (The Methodists bought the wooden church of the Episcopalians and moved that to their lot.) He was much interested in the Unitarian church, where he was leader of the music, and in "Prospect Hill School" opened 1869. Charles Allen, who read law in Mr. Davis's office and afterward was a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of this State, said that Mrs. Davis "lent distinction to Greenfield society." Their son was Capt. George Davis. Daughters married Admiral Clark of the "Oregon" and John Conness. Mr. and Mrs. Davis used annually to have a picnic, in the orchard on land now owned by the Christian Science Church, for the younger school children of the village. "The wit, the kindness, the flow of good spirits" in the Davis home has been commented upon by Mrs. Mary P. Wells Smith.

Mr. Davis was at times during the late fifties, lieutenant, captain and quartermaster of militia. He and George P. Field built the middle part of the Mansion House block. He held town office, was register in bankruptcy and was long a trial justice. His death occurred December 3, 1876.

Samuel O. Lamb, "a gentleman of the old school," with deep interest in local history and a remarkable memory, was a valuable member of the P. V. M. A. He was the son of Rev. Amherst Lamb and was one of the thousands who have refuted the adage concerning ministers' sons. He was born in Guilford, Vermont, October 23, 1821, and died in Greenfield. He died a Democrat, and I think was born so, for he was unchanging. Mr. Lamb came to Greenfield in 1843 and entered the law office of Hon. Whiting Griswold as a student. In 1845 he assumed the editorial and financial management of the *Franklin Democrat.* He purchased the paper in 1848 but sold it in 1852. He was in 1850 admitted to the bar, and he became a law partner of Mr. Griswold. (Messrs. Griswold and Lamb married sisters, the Misses Martindale.) For four years he was in partnership with George T. Davis, and during his last years with Frank J. Lawler.

Mr. Lamb did not forget his ancient connection with the probate office, and on the first day of each January there appeared in the doorway of my office a slightly bowed figure in long black coat, with "stove-pipe" hat in hand, kindly smile upon its lips and a voice which said, like a benediction, "I wish this office a very happy New Year." When his portrait, taken a half century before, was hung close beside that door, his failing eyes could not see it clearly: "Never mind, Mr. Lamb," said I, "it looks much as you do now." And he replied, "I have had my clothes made from the same measurements, except one inch in the waistband." The dear old man died March 10, 1908, and his devoted wife seven days later. They left a daughter, who carried on the old-fashioned house and its garden, and I must have sent her a New Year's greeting which indicated my remembrance of her father; for just after her death, when my thoughts were filled with the tragedy of her passing, I came upon an un-

marked package among my possessions, and opened it to find a note from Miss Lamb and a photograph of her father: then, somehow, I felt that all was well.

5. Hon. Horatio G. Parker became judge March 9, 1853, soon after the resignation of Judge Grennell. That fall he was elected representative and he last acted as judge in December. His successor as judge was appointed early the next year. Judge Parker was born at Keene, N. H., April 26, 1824, was graduated from Dartmouth in 1844 and admitted to the local bar in 1848. He settled in Greenfield, where he married, first a sister, and second a daughter, of the late Hervey C. Newton, and had children by both marriages. He had studied law in Keene with his father, in New York (where he was admitted to the bar in 1847), and in Boston with a relative, Henry M. Parker, with whom he associated himself after leaving Greenfield. Horatio G. Parker died in Cambridge April 30, 1899, and is survived by a son and grandson (to whom the present judge of probate is godfather), both named Horatio G.

Though Judge Parker was on the bench less than *eleven* months, there was during that time a change of registers, Mr. Lamb being succeeded by Charles Mattoon, who afterward became judge of the court.

6. Hon. Franklin Ripley was born May 7, 1789. His father, Jerom Ripley, was long a merchant of Greenfield. Franklin Ripley was graduated in 1809 from Dartmouth, was admitted to the bar in 1812 and practiced for a time in Northfield where he had studied with John Barrett. "He was brigade major on the staff of General Isaac Maltby of Hatfield of the state militia, and in 1814 the regiment was called out for coast defence for a short period. He was elected cashier of the Greenfield Bank in 1824, and was cashier, president or director until his decease. He became treasurer of The Franklin Savings Institution at the time of its organization in 1834 and continued in that capacity until his death." Franklin, junior, the son of Franklin and Charlotte Ripley, and a graduate of Amherst, was admitted to the bar in 1845. Thomas W., a nephew of Judge Ripley, married a daughter of Judge Grennell. Judge Ripley took

the oaths of office January 27, 1854, and was judge of the Probate Court until July 1, 1858. The late S. O. Lamb said of him that he was a man of great business capacity and particularly considerate of the widows who asked his judgment. Those are excellent qualifications for a judge of the "widows' and orphans' court" with jurisdiction over all the property of all the people.

Judge Ripley died June 9, 1860, and his family burial place is the southeastern corner of the old part of Green River Cemetery. It is remarkable that stones in that lot and in the three adjoining it bear the names of all probate judges of this county for three-quarters of a century. In this cemetery are also the graves of Judge Grennell and Registers Davis and Lamb, and of many of the men with whom they were intimately associated.

7. Hon. Charles Mattoon was the son of Col. Elijah and Hannah Mattoon and was born June 17, 1816, in Northfield. His grandfathers were cousins, Elijah and Dr. Samuel Mattoon, and *their* grandfather Philip Mattoon was a soldier in the Falls Fight under Capt. Turner. Judge Mattoon had also Hubbard, Bardwell and Field blood. His great-grandfather, Seth Field of Northfield (1712–92) was for "many years the leading man in town," and I happen to have the commission, (issued June 18, 1755, by Governor Shirley) which made him lieutenant of forces at Northfield and Fort Dummer "for the defence of the western frontier."

Charles Mattoon studied law in Northfield with William G. Woodward and became a member of the bar in 1839. He practiced at Muscatings, Iowa, for a time, returning later to Northfield and coming to Greenfield in 1853. He was commissioned as register of probate June 7, 1853, succeeding Mr. Lamb during Judge Parker's brief term but serving principally under Judge Ripley. Mrs. Mattoon was before marriage Lucia A. Humphreys. Mr. Mattoon was an active politician and was in 1860 a presidential elector, voting for Lincoln. That year and the year previous he was a member of the school committee and he was afterward chairman of selectmen.

Before July 1, 1858, the judges and registers of the Pro-

bate Court had not been judges and registers of the Court of Insolvency; but from that time they have been officers of both courts, and Charles Mattoon became on that date the first judge of probate and insolvency in this county. Associated with him were two registers; Ingersoll for five years and Conant for seven. July 13, 1868, there was a stubborn fire in the wooden buildings next the courthouse and many of the public records were hastily removed. Often, when the fire alarm blew 4–4, have *I* hastened to the courthouse *ready* to take part in such a scene. The effect upon real estate titles in this county (and elsewhere), and the expense to individuals and to the county, which would surely follow destruction of the probate and other land records, would be immense and unending.

Charles J. J. Ingersoll became register of probate and insolvency July 1, 1858. He was born in Westfield May 1, 1806, and at the age of sixteen went into the *Gazette* office as an apprentice to Col. Phelps, whose partner he later became. He married in 1831 Elizabeth H., daughter of Judge Jonathan Leavitt. His son Dr. Charles T. removed to Iowa; his daughter Eliza L. became the wife of Dr. Joshua Stone. In 1836 he bought the *Franklin Mercury*, which was a year or two later united with the *Gazette*. He left Col. Phelps in 1841 and in Westfield, N. Y., published the *Messenger*. Back with the *Gazette* he left in 1847 to establish the *American Republic* and advocate Free Soil principles. Not only was he a deacon in the Orthodox church but the historian of Greenfield records that he was a conscientious and active Christian and died lamented by the community, his death occurring October 10, 1863. Like Register Alvord, he died in office. He was succeeded by Chester C. Conant.

We have reviewed the lives of the twelve persons who were the first seven judges and the first seven registers of our Probate Court, and have covered the 58 years prior to 1870. Though an equal time remains to be covered it will take but a few pages. Some of the men who were probate officers during the first two periods were elected to offices which we regard as political:

Representative in Congress: George Grennell became congressman in 1829 and continued in office until 1839, declining further service there.

Member of Governor's Council: Solomon Smead, 1823–24.

State Senators: Jonathan Leavitt; George Grennell.

Representative in General Court: Solomon Smead, elected 1797, 1800 and 1817 to 1822; Jonathan Leavitt, 1802 and 1803; Richard E. Newcomb, 1805; Elijah Alvord, 1812; Wendell T. Davis, 1851, 1852, 1856; Horatio G. Parker, 1853; Samuel O. Lamb, 1855.

Many men who became officers of the Probate Court performed their part in the government of the town of Greenfield:—Solomon Smead was town clerk from 1787 for five years and town treasurer from 1788 for four years, then selectman from 1793 for six years and again in 1800; Grennell and Register Alvord were on the first school committee, being chosen December 1, 1823, and Grennell was selectman in 1850; Franklin Ripley was selectman in 1829 and from 1835 for three years; Wendell T. Davis in 1851 and 1852 and from 1858 for three years; Judge Parker for part of 1855 (resigning); Judge Mattoon in 1868 and 1869; Charles J. J. Ingersoll was assessor in 1857; Francis M. Thompson was assessor from 1869 for eight years, then town clerk and town treasurer from 1877 for six years, and was selectman in 1888 and 1889 and elected in 1896 for a three-year term, being the only selectman ever so elected in Greenfield.

During the 58 years since 1870 there were but two persons judge or register, other than those now serving you. As before, we divide the time into two 29-year periods. From 1870 to 1899 C. C. Conant was judge, and F. M. Thompson was register, of the court. Francis M. Thompson served the people of this county as register and judge for 43 years, a month and a week. His son came into the office as a clerk 38 years ago. The next longest term was that of Chester C. Conant, who was register and judge during more than 35 years. Judge Newcomb and Register Alvord had each served over 27 years.

Third Period.

8. Hon. Chester C. Conant was born in Lyme, N. H., September 4, 1831, a descendant of Roger Conant, the Pilgrim. He was graduated with honor from Dartmouth, took a course at the Albany Law School and was admitted to the bar in New York and in Massachusetts in the year 1859. During the remainder of his active life he was engaged in the practice of law in this county, first in partnership with Judge David Aiken, later with Edward E. Lyman until 1866, and during many years with his nephew, Samuel D. Conant.

He was for a long time prominent in the affairs of Greenfield, both political and religious. He was a member of the Episcopal Church and in its parish house are memorials placed there by his daughters, of whose success as educators he was justly proud. From 1866 to 1871 he was a member of the school committee, and he was in 1888 a delegate to the Republican national convention.

Chester C. Conant became register of probate December 30, 1863, following the death of Register Ingersoll, and was elevated to the bench September 30, 1870, following Judge Mattoon's demise. Two months later my father became register of the court, and for the period of twenty-eight and a half years they served together as officers of the Probate Court for this county. Judge Conant's health having failed, he resigned, the resignation taking effect May 6, 1899. His death occurred November 6, 1899. I understand that his surviving daughter has gathered material for a biographical sketch of his life.

As I came into the office as a clerk September 1, 1890, and three years later (August 26, 1893) became assistant register of the court, I have pleasant memories of his kindly personality; and I recall certain trips with him by horse and wagon to hold rather informal sessions of the court at hotels in outlying towns of the county. He drove the horse much as a woman is supposed to drive a nail—in hit-or-miss fashion; that is, he held the reins, through them transmitting suggestions to the horse at any intersecting road. Once, as

we approached the Northfield ferry, heavy rains had left the road but a narrow ridge and some of the fence posts were upheld by the rail only; but the reins hung over the dash, as usual: and at Conway we had been trout-fishing in a meadow brook, but the judge had caught the same turtle twice and we were seeking the ravine of Swift River, so the horse ambled down a lane and through a barnyard, a field and some woods until (to my relief) we came to a barbed-wire fence. By this impediment to navigation we moored our mare and went a-fishing. Doubtless we caught trout, for when *that* was no longer customary the statute requiring the court to hold these sessions was repealed.

It was in 1873, soon after this third period began, that the courthouse of 1848—outgrown in a quarter-century though the first courthouse had lasted a full third—was rebuilt, and architectually ruined. In such "shabby habiliments dressed" (to quote Saxe) has been the courthouse for the past 56 years, without its attire having *once* come temporarily into style; but an act for taking land for a new building was passed in 1917 and in 1925 the county commissioners acquired for the county a part of the necessary site for the third courthouse. During the third 29-year period there was but one register of probate; and his service as *judge* of the court belongs to the next, and final, period.

Fourth Period—1899 to 1928.

9. Hon. Francis M. Thompson, who became judge of the Probate Court after serving as register longer than any of his predecessors, was born October 16, 1833, in Colrain, the home of his ancestors for several generations, but when he was about ten years old he came with his parents to a farm in the northerly part of Greenfield. He was educated in the public schools and at Williston Seminary. He was as a young man employed as a bookkeeper in Greenfield and later obtained a responsible position with a private banker in St. Louis. Going West as secretary of an exploring and mining company he had a series of exciting adventures, some of which are related in the *Massachusetts Magazine*

(Vols. V to VIII) and a few of them he told to this association (*Proceedings*, Vol. V, p. 470). To commemorate his connection with the organization of the territory of Montana there remains the great seal of the State, designed by him. Returning to Massachusetts he married in 1865 Mary Nims (Godfrey, John, Thomas, Hull, Lucius). They went to New York where Mr. Thompson was commissioner of immigration for Montana under appointment of his friend Governor Edgerton; but Greenfield was *home*, and to it they returned. From 1869 to 1883, and occasionally afterward, he held one or more of the principal town offices of Greenfield. In the fall of 1870, following the appointment of Chester C. Conant to the probate bench, Mr. Thompson was elected register of that court and he took the oaths of office November 30, 1870. The man of 37 little thought that he at 80 would be still connected with the Probate Court. Register Thompson found plenty of work to be done. The old files, arranged by courts, he sorted into thousands of separate estates and cases; a consolidated index was made; and the work of the office was maintained in a business-like manner and for the accommodation of the public. A docket was kept of all papers filed in the probate office, and this showed in every case the date of filing each paper and of the action of the Court thereon, a description of the document and the book and page of its record. (The efficiency and convenience which resulted inspired his successor to have prepared similar dockets for the earliest cases —eight thousand of them—making these up from both the files and the records. He also arranged and indexed the entire files of the Court of Insolvency, after its activities were suspended by the national bankruptcy act of 1898.)

Francis M. Thompson while register of probate and insolvency studied law and was admitted to the bar. He served for one term as a trial justice but declined reappointment. He established the business of the Interstate Mortgage Trust Company and turned it over to the corporation, and he was an officer and director of bank and other organizations, but money was a minor consideration. He was interested in his home and his work, and always in the out-of-

doors. He was a country boy and an explorer of the great Northwest, and all his life he hunted and fished. (I read to a fisherman-friend a most convincing account which my father wrote of a balloon trip by an authoress, an antiquary and "Mr. Know-it-all"—Mrs. Mary P. Wells Smith, Mr. Sheldon and himself—and, though its theme was local history, my friend said it described accurately every trout brook known to him in a wide region. With Newell Snow and "Frank" Pond my father used to take trips to Nova Scotia, and parts of thirty summers he spent on a Maine island. Many of his evenings during the 36 years he lived on Union Street were spent (in a chair with adjustable foot-rest) reading, frequently American history; with a long paper-cutter in his hand if the pages were uncut. Near by was his wife: seldom were they separated; nor for long.

At 65 Francis M. Thompson became judge of the Probate Court, to the satisfaction of the people of the county, who had learned to appreciate his modest efficiency, his quiet helpfulness. He continued to occupy a desk at the courthouse (the first judge to do so) but the less confining duties of the position permitted him to perform the labor of love which will remain his monument, the *History of Greenfield* published by the town when he was 70. His long experience as register lightened his judicial burden but when 80 years old he resigned, last presiding over a session of the Probate Court on January 6, 1914. Two years later, January 1, 1916, he wrote New Year's greetings—some in rhyme—to a number of friends, dined with his family, lay down to rest and passed quietly away from an earth he had bettered by his living.

It was on May 18, 1899, that Francis M. Thompson took the oaths as judge of the Probate Court for the county of Franklin. The assistant register thereupon became acting register; and as the Governor, in response to a unanimous petition of the county bar, appointed the young man register to fill the vacancy, he was easily elected that fall for the unexpired term. Being unopposed, he was re-elected in 1903, 1908, and 1913 to serve as register for five years from the first Wednesday of the following January; but it so happened

that on the first Wednesday of January, 1914, he took the oaths of office, not as register, but as judge. Because of the increased volume of business, more than half of all the cases arising during the court's 117 years have passed through his hands since he became assistant register.

John C. Lee was appointed by Governor Foss January 7, 1914, to fill the office of register of the court. Mr. Lee, who was born in Greenfield and educated in its schools, had been engaged in the practice of law, first in the offices of Greene & Davenport and of Frederick L. Greene, and later in partnership with Harry A. Weymoth. He has been repeatedly and without opposition elected by the people of the county to succeed himself as register.

Miss Ellen K. O'Keefe, the present assistant register, who is also a native of Greenfield and a graduate of its high school, came into the probate office as its clerk June 1, 1899. She was appointed assistant July 2, 1904, by the late Judge Thompson and reappointed by his son, the present judge, who also succeeded his father as a vice president of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association and has occasionally written rather long papers for that long-named and long-suffering organization.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1870—1929.

The date following the name is that of first election; the succeeding numerals the term of service. * Deceased.]

Presidents,

* GEORGE SHELDON, Deerfield, 1870: 47.
* JOHN SHELDON, Greenfield, 1917: 12.
J. M. ARMS SHELDON, Deerfield, 1929.

Vice Presidents,

* JOHN A. AIKEN, Greenfield, 1909: 4.
* C. ALICE BAKER, Cambridge, 1901: 3.
* RICHARD E. BIRKS, Deerfield, 1916: 9.
* ROBERT R. BISHOP, Newton, 1891.
* EDGAR BUCKINGHAM, Deerfield, 1881.
* JOSIAH D. CANNING, Gill, 1870.
* SAMUEL CARTER, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1883: 2.
* HENRY CHILDS, Buffalo, N. Y., 1881: 2.
* JAMES M. CRAFTS, Whately, 1870: 4.
* AUSTIN DEWOLF, Greenfield, 1877.
* JOSEPH P. FELTON, Greenfield, 1885.
* FRANKLIN G. FESSENDEN, Greenfield, 1918: 11.
* P. VOORHEES FINCH, Greenfield, 1880: 2.
* JAMES S. GRINNELL, Greenfield, 1887.
* EBEN A. HALL, Greenfield, 1893: 3.
* ALLEN HAZEN, Deerfield, 1887: 3.
* SILAS G. HUBBARD, Hatfield, 1890.
* SAMUEL O. LAMB, Greenfield, 1873: 15.
* ROGER H. LEAVITT, Charlemont, 1871: 4.
* JAMES SMITH REED, Marion, O., 1885: 4.
* HARRIET C. RICE, Leverett, 1874: 2.
GEORGE A. SHELDON, Greenfield, 1929.
* JOHN SHELDON, Greenfield, 1897: 4.
* JOHN M. SMITH, Sunderland, 1879: 4.
* FRANCIS M. THOMPSON, Greenfield, 1886: 26.
FRANCIS N. THOMPSON, Greenfield, 1925: 5.
* JOHN P. WATSON, Leverett, 1877: 3.
* JOSEPH WHITE, Williamstown, 1882.

Recording Secretary,

* RICHARD E. BIRKS, Deerfield, 1908: 8.
WILLIAM L. HARRIS, Deerfield, 1916: 14.
* NATHANIEL HITCHCOCK, Deerfield, 1870: 30.
MARGARET MILLER, Deerfield, 1900: 8.

Corresponding Secretary,

* EDGAR BUCKINGHAM, Deerfield, 1883: 11.
* ROBERT CRAWFORD, Deerfield, 1870: 13.
N. THERESA MELLEN, Deerfield, 1919: 11.
HERBERT C. PARSONS, Greenfield, 1895: 6.
* MARY ELIZABETH STEBBINS, Deerfield, 1901: 18.
* CATHARINE BROOKS YALE, Deerfield, 1894.

Treasurer,

* NATHANIEL HITCHCOCK, Deerfield, 1870: 30.
* JOHN SHELDON, Greenfield, 1900: 26.
GEORGE A. SHELDON, Greenfield, 1926: 3.

Life Councillors,

* FREDERICK LOTHROP AMES, Boston, 1892.
* GEORGE ALBERT ARMS, Greenfield, 1882.
* CHARLOTTE ALICE BAKER, Cambridge, 1876.
* HENRY CHILDS, Buffalo, N. Y., 1870.
* MARY HEMENWAY, Boston, 1885.
* JONATHAN JOHNSON, Greenfield, 1878.
* ELIZABETH MARVIN KAUFFMANN, Berlin, Germany, 1903.
* MARY ANN SAWYER, St. Albans, Vt., 1883.
* ELLEN LOUISA SHELDON, Greenfield, 1905.
* GEORGE SHELDON, Deerfield, 1883.
JENNIE MARIA ARMS SHELDON, Deerfield, 1901.
* LYDIA CUTLER STEBBINS, Deerfield, 1872.

Councillors,

* Aiken, John A., Greenfield, 1893: 20.
* Allen, Julia A., Deerfield, 1877: 2.
* Arms, Aaron, Bellows Falls, Vt., 1872: 2.
* Avice S., Greenfield, 1899.
* Frances W., Greenfield, 1880.
* George A., Greenfield, 1877: 6.
Jennie M., Greenfield, 1896.
* Obed S., Deerfield, 1873: 2.
* Otis T., Bellows Falls, Vt., 1882: 2.
* Winthrop T., Deerfield, 1889.
* Avery, Walter T., New York, 1879: 4.
* Baker, C. Alice, Cambridge, 1871: 12.
* Catherine C., Cambridge, 1879.
* Ball, Frances W., Deerfield, 1901: 6.
* Bardwell, Jarvis B., Shelburne, 1873: 3.
* Barrett, George P., Portland, Me., 1897.
* Bartlett, George B., Concord, 1886.
Barton, Henry B., Gill, 1909: 9.
* Billings, Henry W., Conway, 1893.
* Birks, Richard E., Deerfield, 1903: 5.
* Bishop, Robert R., Newton, 1894: 2.
Boyden, Helen C., Deerfield, 1914: 16.

* Brooks, Silas N., Chicago, 1871.
* Brown, Lorenzo, Vernon, Vt., 1873: 2.
* Bryant, Chauncy, Greenfield, 1881: 2.
* Buckingham, Edgar, Deerfield, 1870: 10.
* Canning, Josiah D., Gill, 1871: 4.
* Carter, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1880: 4.
* Champney, James W., Deerfield, 1880: 6.

Chase, Ellen, Brookline, 1894: 3.

* Childs, Dexter, Deerfield, 1873: 3.
  * Henry, Buffalo, N. Y., 1883: 2.
  * Robert, Deerfield, 1870: 26.
  * Samuel, Deerfield, 1901: 2.

Coleman, Emma L., Boston, 1883: 3.

* Corss, Charles L., Lock Haven, Pa., 1888: 2.
* Cowing, Julia A., Deerfield, 1874: 2.
* Crafts, Chester G., Whately, 1880: 5.
  * James M., Whately, 1876: 3.
* Crawford, Robert, Deerfield, 1882: 14.
* Crittenden, George D., Buckland, 1871: 6.
* Cutler, Nahum S., Greenfield, 1893: 4.
* Dewolf, Austin, Greenfield, 1873: 4.
* Everett, Edward J., Deerfield, 1901: 3.
* Farren, Bernard N., Montague, 1885: 2.
* Felton, Joseph P., Greenfield, 1896.

Fessenden, Franklin G., Greenfield, 1896: 15.

* Field, Phinehas, Charlemont, 1870: 4.
  * Putnam, Greenfield, 1883: 3.
  * Reuben W., Shelburne, 1887: 3.
* Finch, P. Voorhees, Greenfield, 1870: 14.
* Fisk, D. Orlando, Shelburne, 1870: 3.
* Fuller, Agnes G., Deerfield, 1906: 14.
  * G. Spencer, Deerfield, 1902:10.
* Furbush, Caroline C., Greenfield, 1900: 4.
* Grinnell, James S., Greenfield, 1892: 3.
* Griswold, Freeman C., Greenfield, 1889: 2.
* Hager, Charles, Deerfield, 1875: 2.
* Hall, Eben A., Greenfield, 1873: 8.
* Hammond, George W., Boston, 1889: 3.

Harris, William L., Deerfield, 1904: 12.

* Hawks, Edward A., Deerfield, 1901: 20.
  * Frederick, Greenfield, 1871: 6.
  * Susan Belle, Deerfield, 1872.
  * Winfield S., So. Hadley, 1881: 3.
* Hazen, Allen, Deerfield, 1885: 2.

Hazelton, Charles W., Montague, 1913: 17.

* Henry, Lucy Emerine, Deerfield, 1917: 10.
* Hildreth, John L., Cambridge, 1895: 2.
* Hitchcock, Henry, Galesburg, Ill., 1879: 2.
* Hollister, Joseph H., Greenfield, 1876: 3.
* Holton, Ezra L., Northfield, 1873: 2.
* Horr, George W., Athol, 1895: 4.
* Hosmer, George H., Bridgewater, 1880: 2.
  * James K., St. Louis, Mo., 1879: 9.

Hoyt, John W., Cincinnati, O., 1892: 3.

* Hubbard, Silas G., Hatfield, 1882: 2.
* Huntington, Eunice K., Cleveland, O., 1880: 4.
* Hyde, William W., Ware, 1883: 2.
* Johnson, Jonathan, Greenfield, 1870: 8.
* Jones, Charles, Deerfield, 1877: 25.
* Kimball, Delano C., Leverett, 1887: 2.
* Kingsley, Elbridge, Hatfield, 1896.
* Lamb, Samuel O., Greenfield, 1874: 13.
* Leavitt, John H., Waterloo, Iowa, 1904.
  * Roger H., Charlemont, 1873: 2.

* Lincoln, Luther J. B., Hingham, 1879: 6.
* Lowell, Charles R., Greenfield, 1902.
* Marshall, James F. B., Weston, 1892.
Miller, Margaret, Deerfield, 1916: 14.
* Moors, John F., Greenfield, 1880.
* Munn, Asa B., Chicago, 1890.
  * Philo, Deerfield, 1882: 3.
* Newcomb, Eugene A., Greenfield, 1894: 31.
Nims, Frances B., Greenfield, 1907.
* Parsons, Albert C., Northfield, 1872: 4.
  Herbert C., Greenfield, 1891: 16.
* Phillips, Henry M., Springfield, 1883: 5.
  * Simeon, Greenfield, 1880: 4.
  * Smith R., Springfield, 1874.
Plimpton, George A., New York, 1908: 2.
  Henry R., Boston, 1893: 2.
* Porter, Ransom N., Deerfield, 1873: 3.
* Pratt, Frank J., Greenfield, 1881: 4.
  * Martha G., Deerfield, 1876: 6.
* Putnam, Annie C., Boston, 1903: 11.
  * Caroline W., Grand Rapids, Mich, 1907: 2.
* Reed, James S., Marion, O., 1882: 2.
* Rice, David, Leverett, 1877: 2.
  * Harriet C., Leverett, 1872: 2.
  * Levi W., Greenfield, 1870: 3.
  * Sarah C., Greenfield, 1882.
* Root, Asahel W., Deerfield, 1906: 20.
* Rumrill, Anna C., Springfield, 1893: 2.
* Russell, John E., Leicester, 1898: 2.
* Ryerson, Julia N., New York, 1882.
* Sawyer, Mary A., St. Albans, Vt., 1879.
* Sheldon, Ellen L., Greenfield, 1890: 5.
  George A., Greenfield, 1905: 21.
  * John, Greenfield, 1881: 4.
  * William, Deerfield, 1876: 4.
* Smead, Elihu, Newtonville, 1884.
* Smith, James, Whately, 1881.
  * John M., Sunderland, 1874: 9.
* Smith, Zeri, Deerfield, 1874: 11.
  Mary P. Wells, Greenfield, 1910: 20.
* Snow, Newell, Greenfield, 1880: 4.
Solley, George W., Deerfield, 1900: 3.
* Stebbins, Albert, Deerfield, 1879:10.
  * Lydia C., Deerfield, 1872.
  * Moses, Deerfield, 1870: 3.
  Willis M., Gothenburg, Neb., 1912.
* Stratton, Mary T., Northfield, 1876.
* Taft, Henry W., Pittsfield, 1877: 8.
* Taylor, George E., Shelburne, 1910: 4.
* Thompson, Francis M., Greenfield, 1877: 5.
  Francis N., Greenfield, 1918: 7.
* Thornton, R. S., Montague, 1897.
* Tilton, Chauncy B., Deerfield, 1875: 6.
* Warner, Whitney L., Sunderland, 1887: 2.
* Watson, Charles H., Boston, 1902.
  * John P., Leverett, 1876.
* Wells, Elisha, Deerfield, 1881: 6.
  * Henry, Shelburne, 1883: 2.
  * Laura B., Deerfield, 1901: 3.
* Wentworth, Mary P., Deerfield, 1896: 5.
* White, Joseph, Williamstown, 1885.
* Whiting, Julia D., Deerfield, 1905: 11.
  Margaret C., Deerfield, 1917: 13.
* Williams, Almon C., Deerfield, 1899.
  * Arthur, Brookline, 1885: 2.
  * Charles E., Deerfield, 1879: 9.
  * Electa L., Deerfield, 1888: 2.
  * Philomela A., Deerfield, 1906:8.
Wing, Albert L., Greenfield, 1906: 24.
* Wright, William W., Geneva, N. Y., 1883: 2.
* Wynne, Madeline Y., Deerfield, 1901: 4.
* Yale, Catharine B., Deerfield, 1890: 9.

Corresponding Members,

* Charles Francis Adams, LL. D., Lincoln.
* Charles C. Baldwin, LL. D., Cleveland, O.
Hubert H. Bancroft, A. M., California.
* James P. Baxter, Litt. D., Portland, Me.
* Edward H. Clement, Litt. D., Cambridge.
Wilberforce Eames, A. M., New York.
* Charles W. Eliot, LL. D., Cambridge.
H. St. George Gray, Castle Museum, Taunton, Eng.
* Hon. Samuel A. Green, LL. D., Boston.
Edwin A. Grosvenor, LL. D., Amherst.
* Edward Everett Hale, D. D., Boston.
* Hon. Benjamin H. Hale, Troy, N. Y.
* G. Stanley Hall, LL. D., Worcester.
* President George Harris, Amherst.
Albert Bushnell Hart, LL. D. Cambridge.
* Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL. D., Cambridge.
* Dr. Edward Hitchcock, Amherst.
* Hon. Stephen A. Hubbard, Hartford, Conn.
Hon. Edward Y. Jones, Binghamton, N. Y.
Frank Leney, Castle Museum, Norwich, Eng.
* Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL. D., Nahant.
* Hon. John D. Long, LL. D., Hingham.
Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.
* Frederick W. Putnam, S. D., Cambridge.
* Daniel Seagrave, Esq., Worcester.
* Hon. Henry W. Taylor, Canandaigua, N. Y.
* Caleb B. Tillinghast, Litt. D., Boston.
* Henry F. Waters, A. M., Salem.
* Justin Winsor, LL. D., Cambridge.
Frank Woolnough, Ipswich Museum, Ipswich, Eng.

Life Members,

* Allen, Catherine E., Deerfield, 1874.
* Arms, George A., Greenfield, 1870.
Jennie Maria, Greenfield, 1889.
* Otis B., Bellows Falls, Vt., 1882.
* Seneca, Troy, N. Y., 1871.
Ashley, Jonathan P., Deerfield, 1920.
* Avery, Walter T., New York, 1871.
* Baker, C. Alice, Cambridge, 1870.
* Catherine C., Cambridge, 1872.
* Barrett, George P., Portland, Me., 1893.
* Bartlett, George B., Concord, 1871.
Birks, Ellen St. Claire, Bernardston, 1919.
* Bishop, Robert R., Newton, 1890.
Blaisdell, Mary H. S., Chicopee, 1911.
Brown, Percy W., Concord, 1920.
* Catlin, George, Chicago, 1899.
* Champney, J. Wells, Deerfield, 1879.
Chase, Ellen, Brookline, 1890.
* Childs, Alfred H., Deerfield, 1877.
* Robert, Deerfield, 1870.
* Rodolphus, Dover, Ill., 1873.
* Comstock, Cornelia C., New Canaan, Ct., 1886.
* Corss, Charles, Lock Haven, Pa., 1887.
Cressy, Noah, Amherst, 1876.
* Delano, Elizabeth R., New Bedford, 1882.
* Doggett, George N., Chicago, 1872.
Essery, Carl V., Detroit, Mich., 1925.
Mrs. Carl V., Detroit, Mich., 1926.
* Farren, Bernard N., Montague, 1884.

Fessenden, Franklin G., Greenfield, 1895.
Field, Mrs. Robert M., Yonkers, N. Y., 1911.
* Fithian, Eliza B., St. Louis, Mo., 1884.
* Fuller, Agnes G., Deerfield, 1905.
Arthur N., Deefield, 1912.
Mary W., Deerfield, 1915.
* Furbush, Caroline C., Greenfield, 1895.
* Hawks, Susan Belle, Deerfield, 1880.
* Frederick, Greenfield, 1879.
Susan B., Deerfield, 1919.
* William H., Greenfield, 1879.
* Henry, Lucy E., Deerfield, 1906.
* Hitchcock, Henry, Galesburg, Ill., 1872.
* Nathaniel, Deerfield, 1870.
* Horr, George W., Athol, 1893.
* Hosmer, James K., Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1871.
* Hoyt, Catherine W., Deerfield, 1876.
* Henry, Boston, 1870.
John W., Cincinnati, O., 1887.
* Hyde, William, Ware, 1884.
* Keith, W. Scott, Chicago, 1915.
* Kimball, Delano C., Leverett, 1877.
* Lamb, Samuel O., Greenfield, 1880.
* Leavitt, John H., Waterloo, Iowa, 1903.
* Lincoln, Luther J. B., Deerfield, 1879.
* Mary A., Deerfield, 1879.
* Marshall, James F. B., Weston, 1888.
* Morton, Levi P., New York, 1903.
Nichols, W. Herbert, Greenfield, 1929.
* Nims, Frederick C., Painesville, O., 1909.
* Phillips, Henry M., Springfield, 1882.
* Smith R., Springfield, 1871.
Plimpton, George A., New York, 1908.
* Pratt, Franklin J., Greenfield, 1880.
* Pratt, Martha G., Deerfield, 1872.
* Reed, James S., Marion, O., 1872.
* Richardson, John J., Greenfield, 1879.
* Russell, John E., Leicester, 1897.
* Sawyer, Mary Ann, St. Albans, Vt., 1879.
* Sheldon, Charles L., Auburn, N. Y., 1912.
* Ellen L., Greenfield, 1880.
* George, Deerfield, 1870.
George A., Greenfield, 1900.
Hazel E., Greenfield, 1920.
* J. Edith, Greenfield, 1900.
* John, Greenfield, 1880.
* Susan S., Deerfield, 1870.
* Smith, Cornelia A., Philadelphia, Pa., 1892.
* James, Whately, 1879.
* Snow, Newell, Greenfield, 1879.
Stebbins, Abbie E., Andover, O., 1920.
* Evander G., Deerfield, 1870.
* Stone, Mary Lowell, Cambridge, 1888.
* Taft, Henry W., Pittsfield, 1873.
* Thompson, Francis M., Greenfield, 1882.
Francis N., Greenfield, 1916.
* Thornton, Rufus S., Montague 1896.
Tucker, Arthur H., Milton, 1919.
* Watson, Charles H., Boston, 1900.
* Wells, Henry, Shelburne, 1880.
* Wetherald, James T., Boston, 1911.
* White, Joseph, Williamstown, 1880.
Salome E., Brooklyn, N. Y., 1886.
* Whitney, James S., Brookline, 1872.
* Laurinda C., Brookline, 1872.
* Williams, Almon C., Deerfield, 1886.
* Sophronia R., Chicago, 1882.
* Wright, William W., Geneva, N. Y., 1880.
* Yale, Catharine B., Deerfield, 1888.

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Abbott, Winthrop P., Greenfield, 1922.
* Abercrombie, Elizabeth, Brookline, 1900.
Adams, Elizabeth L., Greenfield, 1906.
* Aiken, John A., Greenfield, 1891.
* Allen, Catherine E., Deerfield, 1874.

Allen, Frances N. S., Deerfield, 1929.
* Orrin Pierre, Palmer, 1892.
* Alexander, Albert A., Greenfield, 1907.
* Ames, Frederick L., Boston, 1892.
Amidon, S. Henry, Greenfield, 1921.
* Anderson, Lafayette, Shelburne, 1872.
* Arms, Aaron, Bellows Falls, Vt., 1870.
* Avice Stebbins, Greenfield, 1871.
* Frances Ward, Greenfield, 1871.
* George Albert, Greenfield, 1870.
Jennie Maria, Greenfield, 1889.
* Lillie J., Bellows Falls, Vt., 1872.
* Obed S., Deerfield, 1871.
* Otis B., Bellows Falls, Vt., 1882.
* Seneca, Troy, N. Y., 1871.
* Winthrop Tyler, Deerfield, 1885.
Ashley, Jonathan P., Deerfield, 1920.
* Avery, Walter T., New York, 1871.
* Baker, Charlotte Alice, Cambridge, 1870.
* Catherine Catlin, Cambridge, 1872.
* Ball, Frances W., Deerfield, 1900.
* Barber, H. H., Meadville, Pa., 1905.
* Hervey, Warwick, 1873.
* Bardwell, Jarvis B., Shelburne, 1870.
* Barnard, Lemuel, Canandaigua, N. Y., 1875.
* Barney, Edward, Deerfield, 1870.
* Barrett, Geo. P., Portland, Me., 1893.
* Bartlett, Geo. B., Concord, 1871.
Barton, Henry B., Gill, 1907.
* Bemis, Robert E., Chicopee, 1891.
* Billings, Henry W., Conway, 1892.
Birks, Ellen St. Claire, Bernardston, 1919.
* Richard E., Deerfield, 1903.
* Bishop, Robert R., Newton, 1890.
Blaisdell, Mary H. S., Chicopee, 1911.
* Boltwood, Edmund, Ottawa, Kan., 1913.
* Boyden, Frank D., Deerfield, 1885.
Frank L., Deerfield, 1911.
Helen C., Deerfield, 1911.
* Brooks, Silas N., Bernardston, 1870.
* Brown, Lorenzo, Vernon, Vt., 1872.
Mrs. N. H., Dorchester, 1888.
Percy W., Concord, 1920.
Browne, William B., N. Adams, 1921.
* Bryant, Chauncy, Greenfield, 1872.
* Buckingham, Edgar, Deerfield, 1870.
* Buddington, Henry A., Greenfield, 1872.
Burrell, Mary E., Freeport, Ill., 1915.
* Canning, Josiah D., Gill, 1870.
* Carter, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1878.
* Catlin, Charles, Chicago, Ill., 1912.
Elsie, Eliot, Me., 1911.
* George, Chicago, Ill., 1899.
* Champney, James W., Deerfield, 1879.
Chase, Ellen, Brookline, 1890.
Frederick, Milton, 1928.
John Carroll, Boston, 1928.
* Childs, Alfred H., Deerfield, 1877.
Annie F., Deerfield, 1906.
* Dexter, Deerfield, 1870.
Harriet E., Deerfield, 1917.
Harriet Lusk, Deerfield, 1928.
* Henry, Buffalo, N. Y., 1870.
M. Anna V., Deerfield, 1900.
* Robert, Deerfield, 1870.
* Rodolphus, Dover, Ill., 1873.
* Samuel, Deerfield, 1900.
Clapp, Charles W., Greenfield, 1906.
Coleman, Emma L., Boston, 1881.
Martha Alice, Auburndale, 1923.
* Comstock, Cornelia C., New Canaan, Ct., 1886.
Corbett, Annie Childs, 1927.
* Corss, Charles, Lock Haven, Pa., 1887.
* Cowing, Julia A., Deerfield, 1871.
* Crafts, Chester G., Whately, 1872.
* James M., Whately, 1870.
* Seth B., Whately, 1872.
* Crawford, Robert, Deerfield, 1870.
Cressy, Noah, Amherst, 1876.

* Crittenden, George D., Buckland, 1870.
* Crosby, William O., Boston, 1921.
* Cutler, Nahum S., Greenfield, 1892.
Delano, Edith Barnard, Deerfield, 1919.
* Elizabeth R., New Bedford, 1892.
Denio, Herbert W., Westfield, 1905.
* Dewolf, Austin, Greenfield, 1870.
* Doggett, George N., Chicago, Ill., 1872.
* Dwight, William, Bernardston, 1870.
* Eastman, Samuel Sheldon, Greenfield, 1870.
Essery, Carl, V., Detroit, Mich., 1925.
Mrs. Carl V., Detroit, Mich., 1926.
Estabrook, John N., New York, 1925.
* Everett, Edward J., Deerfield, 1901.
* Farren, Bernard N., Montague, 1884.
* Felton, Joseph P., Greenfield, 1870.
Fessenden, Franklin G., Greenfield, 1895.
Field, Charles E., Chicago, 1906.
Herbert D., San Diego, Cal., 1916.
* Phinehas, Charlemont, 1871.
* Putnam, Greenfield, 1875.
* Reuben W., Buckland, 1886.
Mrs. Robert M., Yonkers, N. Y., 1911.
* Finch, P. Voorhees, Greenfield, 1870.
* Fisk, D. Orlando, Shelburne, 1870.
* Fiske, Mrs. George I., Boston, 1888.
* George S., Boston, 1888.
* Fithian, Eliza Barnard, St. Louis, Mo., 1883.
Forbes, Frank P., Greenfield, 1905.
* Freeman, Hattie E., Boston, 1891.
* Fuller, Agnes G., Deerfield, 1905.
Arthur N., Deerfield, 1912.
* George, Deerfield, 1871.
* G. Spencer, Deerfield, 1901.
Mary W., Deerfield, 1915.
* Robert, New York, 1924.
* Furbush, Caroline C., Greenfield, 1895.
* Goss, Elbridge H., Melrose, 1871.
* Gould, E. Josephine, Greenfield, 1907.
* Gray, O. W., Bernardston, 1891.
* Greene, Frederick L., Greenfield, 1910.
* Grinnell, George, Greenfield, 1875.
* James S., Greenfield, 1886.
* Griswold, Freeman C., Greenfield, 1888.
* Whiting, Greenfield, 1874.
* Hager, Charles, Deerfield, 1872.
Hall, Albert H., Boston, 1922.
* Eben A., Greenfield, 1870.
* Hammond, Ellen L., Boston, 1887.
* George W., Boston, 1887.
* Harding, Wilbur F., Greenfield, 1870.
Harris, William L., Deerfield, 1899.
Harrison, Joseph L., Northampton, 1925.
Hassell, Elizabeth J., Conway, 1922.
* Hawks, Edward A., Deerfield, 1900.
E. Minnie, Deerfield, 1911.
* Frederick, Greenfield, 1870.
Frederick E., Greenfield, 1911.
* Susan Belle, Deerfield, 1880.
Susan B., Jr., Deerfield, 1900.
* William H., Greenfield, 1879.
* Winfield S., So. Hadley, 1878.
* Hazen, Allen, Deerfield, 1885.
Hazelton, Charles W., Montague, 1909.
* Hemenway, Mary, Boston, 1885.
* Henry, Lucy Emerine, Deerfield, 1906.
Higginson, Francis J., Kingston, N. Y., 1923.
* Hildreth, John L., Cambridge, 1891.
* Hitchcock, Henry, Galesburg, Ill., 1872.
* Nathaniel, Deerfield, 1870.
Holden, Samuel M., Deerfield, 1923.
* Hollister, Joseph H., Greenfield, 1870.
* Holton, Ezra L., Northfield, 1872.
* Horr, George W., Athol, 1893.
* Hosmer, George H., Bridgewater, 1871.

* Hosmer, James K., Yellow Springs, O., 1871.
* Hoyt, Catherine W., Deerfield, 1870.
  * Henry, Boston, 1870.
  John W., Cincinnati, O., 1887.
  Jane M., Sioux City, Iowa, 1910.
* Hubbard, Silas G., Hatfield, 1882.
Hunt, Edwin W., Milton, 1921.
* Huntington, Eunice K., Cleveland, O., 1870.
Hyde, Matilda S., Deerfield, 1922.
  * William, Ware, 1884.
* Johnson, Jonathan, Montague, 1870.
* Jones, Charles, Deerfield, 1876.
* Kauffmann, Elizabeth M., Berlin, Germany, 1903.
* Keith, Wm. Scott, Chicago, 1915.
* Kimball, Delano C., Leverett, 1877.
* Kingsley, Elbridge, Northampton, 1876.
Lamb, Estella M., Deerfield, 1922.
  * Joseph H., Greenfield, 1907.
  * Samuel O., Greenfield, 1870.
Lawler, Frank J., Greenfield, 1915.
* Leavitt, John H., Waterloo, Iowa, 1903.
  * Roger H., Charlemont, 1871.
Leavitte, Helen A. R.,———1881.
* Lee, Samuel H., Greenfield, 1871.
* Lincoln, Luther J. B., Hingham, 1879.
  * Mary Agnes, Hingham, 1879.
  * Mary Willard, Hingham, 1884.
* Lowell, Charles R., Greenfield, 1902.
* Luey, Lester L., Greenfield, 1902.
Luther, Claire F., Amherst, 1928.
* Lyman, Daniel, Mendota, Ill., 1878.
* Mark, George W., Greenfield, 1870.
* Marshall, James F. B., Weston, 1888.
Marsh, George E., Georgetown, Colo., 1908.
Mattson, W. Frank, Boston, 1920.
Mellen, N. Theresa, Deerfield, 1915.
* Mereness, Annette F., Bridgeport, Ct., 1923.
* Merriam, Edward D., Greenfield, 1870.
  * George F., Deerfield, 1906.
* Merrill, Arthur G., Chicago, Ill., 1908.
* Miller, Ellen, Deerfield, 1904.
  Margaret, Deerfield, 1904.
  * Simeon, Deerfield, 1870.
* Montague, Abbie T., Sunderland, 1904.
* Moors, John F., Greenfield, 1871.
* Morton, Levi P., New York, 1903.
Munger, Orett L., Chicago, Ill., 1895.
* Munn, Asa B., Chicago, Ill., 1887.
  * Charles H., Greenfield, 1871.
  George A., Holyoke, 1893.
  * John, New York, 1871.
  * Philo, Deerfield, 1870.
* Newcomb, Eugene A., Greenfield, 1893.
  William J., Greenfield, 1907.
Nichols, W. Herbert, Greenfield, 1922.
Nims, E. D., Roff, Indian Territory, 1903.
  Franklin A., Greeley, Colo., 1903.
  Frances B., Greenfield, 1907.
  * Frederick C., Painesville, O., 1908.
* Noyes, William, Dorchester, 1924.
Orr, Mary M., Deerfield, 1904.
* Parsons, Albert C., Northfield, 1870.
  Herbert C., Greenfield, 1890.
Peterson, Mrs. Edwin G., Brooklyn, N. Y., 1923.
Phelon, Anna Catlin, New York, 1910.
* Phillips, Henry M., Springfield, 1882.
  * Simeon, Greenfield, 1872.
  * Smith R., Springfield, 1871.
Pierce, Willard H., Greenfield, 1929.
  * William, Charlestown, 1872.
Plimpton, George A., New York, 1908.
  Henry R., Boston, 1891.
Poole, Minnie L., Waverly, Iowa, 1911.
  Sherman I., Waverly, Iowa, 1916.
* Porter, Ransom N., Deerfield, 1870.
* Potter, George W., Greenfield, 1871.
* Pratt, Franklin J., Greenfield, 1880.

* Pratt, Martha Goulding, Deerfield, 1870.
Sarah A., Deerfield, 1923.
Pressey, Edward P., Montague, 1909.
* Putnam, Annie C., Boston, 1900.
* Caroline W., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1906.
Putney, Walter K., Ashland, 1915.
* Reed, James S., Marion, O., 1882.
* Rice, David, Leverett, 1873.
* Harriet C., Leverett, 1871.
* Levi W., Greenfield, 1870.
* Sarah C., Greenfield, 1880.
* Richardson, John J., Greenfield, 1873.
Robbins, Lucy Morton, Greenfield, 1921.
Rollins, Carl P., Montague, 1916.
* Root, Asahel W., Deerfield, 1903.
* Hiram, Deerfield, 1873.
* Rumrill, Anna C., Springfield, 1889.
* Russell, Edmund W., Greenfield, 1871.
* John E., Leicester, 1897.
* Ryerson, Julia N., New York, 1881.
* Sanderson, George W., Amherst, 1871.
* Sawyer, Mary Ann, St, Albans, Vt., 1871.
Saxton, S. Willard, Washington, D. C., 1921.
* Severance, Harvey, Deerfield, 1870.
* Martha L., Greenfield, 1905.
* William S., Greenfield, 1905.
* Sheldon, Charles L., Auburn, N. Y., 1912.
* Ellen Louisa, Greenfield, 1880.
* George, Deerfield, 1870.
George A., Greenfield, 1900.
Hazel E., Greenfield, 1905.
* Jennie Edith, Greenfield, 1900.
Jennie Maria Arms, Deerfield, 1901.
* John, Greenfield, 1870.
* Susan Belle, Deerfield, 1870.
Susan Belle, Jr., Deerfield, 1919.
* Susan Stewart, Deerfield, 1870.
* William, Deerfield, 1870.
* Smead, Amelia, Newtonville, 1881.
* Edwin B., Greenfield, 1928
* Elihu, Newtonville, 1881.
* Smith, Albert, Gill, 1900.
Charles Huntington, Deerfield, 1928.
Mrs. Charles H., Deerfield, 1928.
* Cornelia A., Philadelphia, Pa., 1892.
Gertrude L. Cochrane, Deerfield, 1921.
* James, Whately, 1879.
* John M., Sunderland, 1873.
Mary P. Wells, Greenfield, 1907.
* Zeri, Deerfield, 1870.
Snow, Isaac B., Greenfield, 1918.
* Newell, Greenfield, 1879.
Walter N., Greenfield, 1906.
Solley, George W., Deerfield, 1898.
Stebbins, Abbie E., Andover, O., 1920.
* Albert, Deerfield, 1878.
* Alfred B., Deerfield, 1878.
* Charles H., Deerfield, 1900.
* Evander G., Deerfield, 1870.
* Joseph, So. Boston, Va., 1899.
* Lydia C., Deerfield, 1872.
* M. Elizabeth, Deerfield, 1900.
* Moses, Deerfield, 1870.
Willis M., Gothenburg, Neb., 1909.
Stetson, Halbert G., Greenfield, 1907.
* Stevens, Humphrey, Greenfield, 1872.
* Mary E. S., Bridgton, Me., 1907.
* Stockbridge, Levi, Hadley, 1873.
* Stone, Mary Lowell, Cambridge, 1888.
* Stratton, Mary T., Northfield, 1874.
* Taft, Henry W., Pittsfield, 1873.
* Taylor, George E., Shelburne, 1907.
Isadore P., Greenfield, 1927.
* Thompson, Francis M., Greenfield, 1871.
Francis N., Greenfield, 1916.
* Thornton, R. S., Montague, 1896.
* Tilton, Chauncy B., Deerfield, 1874.
* Titcomb, Abbie S., Worcester, 1908.
Tucker, Arthur H., Milton, 1919.
Fred H., Newton, 1920.
Mary Lathrop, Newton, 1921.
Van Vliet, Jesse L., New York, 1911.
* Wait, Thomas, Greenfield, 1870.
* Ware, Frances S., Deerfield, 1870.

* Warner, Whitney L., Sunderland, 1873.
* Waters, Thomas F., Ispwich, 1906.
* Watson, Charles H., Boston, 1900.
  * John P., Leverett, 1872.
Wellman, Charles P., Deerfield, 1922.
  Maud H., Deerfield, 1922.
* Wells, Curtis B., Springfield, 1871.
  * Elisha, Deerfield, 1871.
  Elizabeth W., Deerfield, 1926.
  * George M., Deerfield, 1870.
  * Henry, Shelburne, 1880.
  * Laura B., Deerfield, 1900.
  * Samuel F., Deerfield, 1870.
* Wentworth, Mary P., Deerfield, 1896.
* Wetherald, James T., Boston, 1911.
* White, Joseph, Williamstown, 1880.
  Salome E., Brooklyn, N. Y., 1886.
* Whiting, Julia D., Deerfield, 1901.
  Margaret C., Deerfield, 1904.
* Whitney, James S., Brookline, 1872.
  * Laurinda C., Brookline, 1872.
Wilby, Katherine W., Deerfield, 1926.
* Williams, Almon C., Deerfield, 1885.
  * Arthur, Brookline, 1881.
  * Charles E., Deerfield, 1878.
  * Electa L., Deerfield, 1885.
  * Philomela A., Deerfield, 1903.
  * Sophronia R., Chicago, 1882.
Wilder, Frank J., Somerville, 1918.
Wing, Albert L., Greenfield, 1904.
Wise, Jennie M., Greenfield, 1920.
Wright, Jenny A., Deerfield, 1928.
  * Luke, Deerfield, 1870.
  * William W., Geneva, N. Y., 1880.
* Wynne, Madeline Y., Deerfield, 1900.
* Yale, Catharine B., Deerfield, 1888.

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